

For Reference

NOT TO BE TAKEN FROM THIS ROOM

For Reference

NOT TO BE TAKEN FROM THIS ROOM

Ex LIBRIS
UNIVERSITATIS
ALBERTAENSIS



Regulations Regarding Theses and Dissertations

[illegible]

THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

THE SATIRIC SPECTRUM

IN

THE NOVELS OF SMOLLETT

by



SYDNEY JAMES BUTLER

A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES

IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE

REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE

OF MASTER OF ARTS

DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH

EDMONTON, ALBERTA

UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES

The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies for acceptance, a thesis entitled The Satiric Spectrum in the Novels of Smollett submitted by Sydney James Butler in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts.

ABSTRACT

Smollett's novels have been used to illustrate the history of his age and to trace the development of the English novel. The novels are also regarded as factual records of Smollett's own experiences providing source material for biographical and psychological studies of their author. While these approaches have a great deal of validity, in this thesis I propose to leave aside such considerations which are extrinsic to the novels themselves in order to examine the satire within the novels as a means of illustrating Smollett's development as a novelist. Smollett's penchant for satire coloured his choice and portrayal of characters and incidents. Not only do his novels incorporate wide-ranging attack on human vice and folly, both in individuals and in social institutions, but the Smollett hero may be seen to be adopting the role of the satirist when he actively exposes man's foibles and ridicules his absurdities. Smollett's conception of satire may be deduced from his early verse satires, Advice and Reproof, in which Smollett's persona, the Poet, extols the sacred mission of the satirist to punish vice and ridicule folly. In the novels the verbal attack of the Poet becomes the dramatic action involving the hero-satirist, and to some extent the structural patterns in the novels are defined by the variations in Smollett's modes of satiric attack. In Roderick Random and Peregrine Pickle Smollett used his satire to show his young heroes acquiring their experience of the world. In Count Fathom Smollett created an anti-hero as the main target of his satire, while in Sir Launcelot Greaves, an up-dating of Don Quixote, the role

of the satirist takes on the significance of the knightly quest. Smollett's protagonists adopt their satiric roles when misfortune and travel disrupt their normal, settled lives. The satiric response becomes the means by which the hero deals with an imperfect world in which human vice and folly are so palpably rampant, although this somewhat misanthropic outlook becomes an obstacle to the reader's acceptance of him as a character. Smollett solved this problem in Humphry Clinker by developing a narrative technique which provides a multiplicity of viewpoints. In the letters of the other characters and in his own correspondence, Matthew Bramble, the satirist-persona, is revealed as having an inner sensibility and a benevolence beneath his mask of misanthropy and develops as a credible, amusing and lovable character. His journey to Scotland becomes his reconciliation with life. Smollett's finest achievement was to show this development with comic detachment, to make a human comedy out of the satiric quest.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER		PAGE
	Introduction: Critical Approaches to Smollett	1
I	Smollett's Conception of Satire.	12
II	The Satirist as Hero	34
III	The Knave and the Knight	61
IV	The Benevolent Satirist.	81
	Footnotes.	109
	Bibliography	115

INTRODUCTION

CRITICAL APPROACHES TO SMOLLETT

Although Dr. Smollett never achieved the pre-eminence of that other doctor to whom he awarded the epithet "the great Cham of literature", nevertheless he does occupy a central position in the literary world of the eighteenth century.¹ His career shows a close association between the world of letters and the life of the times. In his works we can trace his involvement with journalism, the theatre, the Navy, the Law, politics, and the Grand Tour. The action of his novels shows us many of the typical scenes of eighteenth-century life -- its inns and theatres, its health spas and prisons, its stage-coaches and war-ships. As a novelist, poet, editor, dramatist, translator, historian, geographer, travel writer, political polemicist, critical reviewer, physician and Naval surgeon, he may well be considered as a jack of all trades. In his progress from an impoverished apprentice of genteel family, rising, after service in the Navy and marriage to an heiress, to become an outstanding figure in the London society of exiled Scotsmen, we may see something of an eighteenth-century archetype. Nevertheless, no matter how interesting his life may be to the historian, his reputation today rests mainly on his position as a novelist. His five novels span almost the whole of his writing career, from Roderick Random, written in 1748, soon after he had settled in London, to Humphry Clinker, published just before his death in 1771. These two novels, together with Peregrine Pickle (1751),

continue to be reprinted today and are the basis of Smollett's claim to literary fame. The two intervening novels, Count Fathom (1753) and Sir Launcelot Greaves (1760-61), are of interest mainly to the specialist, and are found only in the collected editions of Smollett's works.²

In the two centuries since Smollett's death his novels have attracted little more than passing interest from the majority of literary critics and historians. Possibly this is because the qualities which are the basis of the novels' popularity are immediately obvious and require little elucidation. Consequently more of the critics' attention has been directed to the novelist and his milieu rather than to the novels themselves, which have been used as sources for Smollett biography and for tracing his psychological development. The novels have also provided historians with case-histories of eighteenth-century life: my own acquaintance with Smollett stems from a chapter of Roderick Random included in an English school text-book as an illustration of life in the early Royal Navy. No literary historian can ignore Smollett, because of his position as a pioneer in the development of the English novel; Smollett must be remembered for his development of the picaresque tradition as well as his influence on later novelists such as Dickens. As a novelist Smollett makes an interesting comparison with his contemporary, Fielding; Hazlitt, Scott, Lamb, and Thackeray all expressed their personal preferences, attempting to evaluate the relative worth of the two novelists. Later in the nineteenth century Smollett's reputation suffered a decline as if his depicting of physical violence and casual acceptance of sexual appetites proved too strong a meat for Victorian tastes.

Recent years have seen a revival of interest in Smollett. Lewis Knapp has drawn upon modern historical research and recently discovered correspondence for his biography which, discounting some of the myths that have grown up around the less documented periods, establishes the principal facts of Smollett's life. George Kahrl has considered the novels in the light of Smollett's travel writing and Louis Martz has examined all of Smollett's later writings as part of the eighteenth-century tendency to make compilations of available knowledge. The view of life apparent in the novels has led M. A. Goldberg to see Smollett as an exponent of the "Scottish Commonsense School of Philosophy"; while Donald Bruce has considered Smollett as an eighteenth-century radical.

While all these various approaches have a great deal of validity and interest, their emphasis takes the reader away from the fictional world of the novels into the historical world of Smollett's life and intellectual background. In this study I propose to concentrate on the intrinsic qualities of the novels themselves, utilizing the insights provided by these other approaches to show how Smollett developed as a novelist. Rather than using the novels as historical or biographical source material, I shall emphasize the art of the novelist as revealed by his novels. Therefore, I shall be concerned mainly with the novels as they exist for the modern reader, and I shall try to by-pass any questions about their historical background or Smollett's motives. Neither shall I try to draw any conclusions about what the novels may indicate of Smollett's personal life or psychological development.

In particular I shall concentrate on the satire in the novels, because Smollett avowed his satirical intention so explicitly and because the satirical mode sets the controlling tone throughout most of the novels. Moreover, the biographies suggest that there were many incidents in Smollett's life that show him acting in his role of the satirist. Smollett's conception of satire, in fact, is so dominant an aspect of the novels that it may be considered as characteristic of the total view of life revealed by the novels. Most of the relatively isolated incidents of which each novel consists have a satirical purpose, and the variations in the satiric mood help to create the structural pattern of the novel itself.

The basis of all satire is attack, whether aimed at particular individuals, generalized types, or the beliefs and institutions of society. In his novels Smollett ranges over a great variety of targets and employs various modes of satire. Personal abuse is only one aspect of his satire, but some of his contemporaneous popularity may be ascribed to the public's delight in scandal and gossip. Melopoyne's story in Roderick Random, the memoirs of a lady of quality in Peregrine Pickle, and Matthew Bramble's visit to Scotland are all thinly disguised accounts of actual happenings. Many of the figures lampooned in the novels would have been recognizable to Smollett's contemporaries. Consequently Smollett's earliest biographers, Anderson and Moore, both examined the novels for their references to actual people and events, attempting to identify the characters of Smollett's novels among the acquaintances of his lifetime. The many similarities between Roderick's

and Smollett's youthful adventures support this approach, which was also followed by Sir Walter Scott; Thackeray praised Smollett's novels as faithful records of the author's experiences:

His novels are recollections of his own adventures; his characters drawn, as I should think, from personages with whom he became acquainted in his own career of life. Strange companions he must have had; queer acquaintances he made in the Glasgow College -- in the country apothecary's shop; in the gun-room of the man-of-war where he served as surgeon, and in the hard life on shore, where the sturdy adventurer struggled for fortune. He did not invent much, as I fancy, but had the keenest perceptive faculty, and described what he saw with wonderful relish and delightful broad humour.³

Such an approach, while recognizing the strength of Smollett's descriptive writing in the short episode, neglects his creative skill as a novelist in combining these episodes into a meaningful pattern. In the Prefatory Address to Count Fathom Smollett discusses the form of the novel, referring to the "uniform plan" which is necessary to give artistic form to the "diffused picture" of life portrayed in the novel:

A novel is a large diffused picture, comprehending the characters of life, disposed in different groups, and exhibited in various attitudes, for the purposes of an uniform plan, and general occurrence, to which every individual figure is subservient. But this plan cannot be executed with propriety, probability, or success, without a principal personage to attract the attention, unite the incidents, unwind the clue of the labyrinth, and at last close the scene, by virtue of his own importance. (VIII,3)

The use of the hero to link what would otherwise be unconnected episodes is characteristic of the picaresque tradition to which, in the Preface to Roderick Random, Smollett acknowledged his debt. It is important to consider the picaresque tradition as it was adopted and adapted by Smollett because he may be seen to have derived some of his most typical qualities from his predecessors in the Spanish and French novels. Besides the loose, episodic structure, there is also the

emphasis on the darker side of human activity. The world depicted in Smollett's earlier novels is generally the environment of the low life of the cities and the highways connecting them. It is a world inhabited, with few exceptions, by self-seekers who rob and cheat the unwary, bribe or lie their way to position, seduce or rape as the opportunity allows, and whose chief recreations are eating, drinking or gambling. For the most part it is a world devoid of human sympathy, so that any act of selflessness stands out like an oasis in a desert of misanthropy. These novels emphasize man's follies and vices, his crimes and his peccadilloes, his frauds and deceits. Moreover, such a panorama of human iniquity made possible by a wandering hero who moves through a great variety of social circles is well suited to the purposes of satire. In a letter to Alexander Carlyle Smollett stated that he had intended Roderick Random to be a "satire on mankind."⁴ It is possible that Smollett used the picaresque tradition because it suited his purpose as a satirist, or, as Eugène Joliat suggests, because of its particular appeal to Smollett's own personality:

Il était lui-même une manière de picaro, sa vie n'avait été qu'une succession d'aventures et une lutte continuelle Ainsi un roman autobiographique, racontant des aventures telles que les siennes, ne pouver manquer de ressembler, par de nombreux côtés, un roman picaresque.⁵

In the Preface to Roderick Random Smollett makes no distinct distinction between the picaresque tradition as it was found in Spanish literature and as it had been adapted by Le Sage. He praises Cervantes for having reformed public taste in prose fiction:

Cervantes, by an inimitable piece of ridicule, reformed the taste of

mankind, representing chivalry in the right point of view, and converting romance to purposes far more useful and entertaining, by making it assume the sock, and point out the follies of ordinary life. (I,xli)

While recognizing that both Cervantes and Le Sage "assume the sock", or evoke the humour of comedy, Smollett insists that he must change the light-hearted tone in order to achieve his purpose:

Monsieur Le Sage . . . in his Adventures of Gil Blas, has described the knavery and foibles of life, with infinite humour and sagacity. The following sheets I have modelled on his plan, taking the liberty, however, to differ from him in the execution, where I thought his particular situations were uncommon, extravagant, or peculiar to the country in which the scene is laid. The disgraces of Gil Blas are, for the most part, such as rather excite mirth than compassion: he himself laughs at them; and his transitions from distress to happiness, or at least ease, are so sudden, that neither the reader has time to pity him, nor himself to be acquainted with affliction. This conduct, in my opinion, not only deviates from probability, but prevents that generous indignation which ought to animate the reader against the sordid and vicious disposition of the world. (I,xli)

The distinction drawn by Smollett is an important one because it alters the whole conception of the novel, so that Roderick Random becomes much more than a mere imitation of Gil Blas as Sir Walter Scott, among others, has stated.⁶ Several critics have taken Smollett's acknowledgement at its face value by assuming that Smollett's novels merely translate the continental tradition into English letters, but Eugène Joliat's study shows how Smollett used some of the elements of the picaresque tradition in order to create a new type of satiric novel. Essentially the picaresque novel is the life story of a rogue whose escapades show him and the reader many different aspects of society. Le Sage's innovation was to create a hero with whom the reader could sympathize. The contrast between the Spanish and the French hero has been more clearly stated by Eugène Joliet:

Or, dans le roman picaresque espagnol, le héros est indifférent au lecteur; il n'y a chez lui aucune évolution psychologique; il dépend de circonstances, et ne résiste pas. Il fait un récit absolument objectif de ses aventures et ne cherche nullement à se faire plaindre par le lecteur.⁷

In contrast the French hero becomes much more of a real person who reacts to the scenes he witnesses and who involves the reader in the action. Gil Blas, the greatest of them, according to Joliat, is le plus aimable, le plus humain, le plus vrai des picaros. On s'identifie volontiers à lui, car il est l'incarnation de l'homme moyen. Il est si vrai que pour l'imiter on n'a qu'à être vrai à son tour. Voilà pourquoi Smollett, avec son âme de réaliste et son sentiment de la vérité humaine, choisit Gil Blas pour le modèle de son Roderick Random.⁸

But Smollett does not stick to his model; his hero is not a faithful copy; Gil Blas is too full of mirth to suit Smollett's conception of realism; he is too much of a comic character to raise "that generous indignation which ought to animate the reader" (I,xli). Consequently, Smollett's Roderick has not the low origins of Gil Blas; he will not be a willing servant or lackey to others as Gil Blas is; he feels he is a gentleman and his life is a fight to realize the rewards of being a gentleman. In short, he is not "l'homme moyen" as Gil Blas is. It is true that there are many points of resemblance between Smollett and earlier picaresque writers, and Joliat has shown how certain incidents in Smollett's works are similar to those in the works of Quevedo, Aleman and Cervantes among the Spanish writers, and Agrippa d'Aubigne, Sorel, Tristan l'Hermite, and Scarron among the French, besides, of course, Le Sage himself.⁹ Nevertheless the difference between the heroes of Roderick Random and Gil Blas is a fundamental one. In novels such as these the whole action depends on the hero:

he narrates the story; he is present in every scene; he is the thread which holds together the episodes which constitute the action of the novel. Smollett may copy Le Sage in details or in the general construction of the novel, but because of his altered conception of the hero, the total effect is completely different, and this difference, I would suggest tentatively, is the difference between comic and satiric writing -- between the attitude of Gil Blas who sees life with a detached amusement, and the attitude of Roderick Random who with "that generous indignation" perceives that life is not what it ought to be. Eugene Joliat considers that Smollett's novels, because of the energy of his writing, his brutal realism, and the character of his heroes, bear more resemblance to the spirit of the Spanish novels, that Roderick Random reads almost like the translation of a Spanish picaresque, and that although Smollett imitated Le Sage's plan of the novel, the final effect, nevertheless, is completely unlike Le Sage's:

Smollett, en écrivant son premier roman, partira donc d'un point de vue diamétralement opposé à celui de Lesage. Il substituera à la passivité de celui-ci une activité fébrile. En opposition à un Gil Blas souriant il tâchera de créer un Roderick sérieux. Aux aventures nombreuses du héros de Lesage, aux coups de fortune brusques et peu naturels qui changent en quelques secondes la vie de celui-ci, il opposera une suite d'aventures moins hachées, mieux enchaînées, qui ne sentiront en aucune façon un procédé d'auteur, mais qui auront l'air d'avoir été vécues. Enfin, au lieu de rendre son roman moral en faisant constater, comme Lesage, combien le vice est inutile et ridicule, Smollett s'érigera en moraliste militant et montrera le visage hideux du mal, pour le faire haïr.¹⁰

If, as Joliat suggests, Smollett departs from the French and Spanish traditions of the novel in the situation of his hero, nevertheless there are other characteristics of his novels which definitely recall the picaresque tradition. Although Roderick and Peregrine are too

positively concerned in the action to be in a Spanish novel and too unsympathetic to be in a French one, other characters not central to the action do help to create the air of the picaresque. Beau Jackson, Melopoyne, Cadwallader and Lismahago are certainly closer to the picaresque tradition, while Ferdinand is the picaresque himself, exaggerated and caricatured to suit Smollett's purpose.

Joliat's study is especially useful in showing Smollett's starting point in his career as a novelist, enabling us to discern those qualities which Smollett borrowed from the earlier tradition, while this study will attempt to show how Smollett developed as a novelist in the course of his five novels. I expect to show this development most clearly by examining the various modes of satire in each of the novels. First it will be necessary to demonstrate how Smollett himself regarded satire, so that we can use Smollett's conception of the literary mode to analyze its use in the novels. For this purpose I shall draw upon Smollett's two verse satires, Advice and Reproof, not because they have any great literary or poetic value, but because they enable us to see the roots of Smollett's satire laid bare.

Although it is possible to draw parallels between the novels and many of Smollett's other writings, the type of study I propose will focus on the novels and exclude his dramatic, historical, geographical, critical, and political works. I shall also disregard The History and Adventures of An Atom published in 1769.¹¹ Although this is a satire, the work adds little to our understanding of satire as it is used in the novels. Moreover, An Atom was only assumed to be Smollett's work

because of the nature of its attack, although Smollett was living in Italy at the time of its publication and did not even mention the work in any of the extant correspondence. As a political satire An Atom is aimed at targets too remote from the experience of the modern reader. Neither does its somewhat scurrilous mode of attack delight the reader with any display of wit and inventiveness. Instead, An Atom suffers from the drawback of all satire as a literary art in that it depends for its first impact upon its topical interest. Once the target of the satire has disappeared from the reader's experience, then the satire loses its effect and interest, unless, of course, the writer can re-create his victim within the pages of his work, or unless he can delight the reader with the virtuosity of his mode of attack. An Atom does neither, and so it is of interest today only to those who are well acquainted with the political figures and happenings of Smollett's lifetime, and who can agree that they deserve the abuse directed at them by the author of this work.

One of the aims of this study will be to show how Smollett transcends the limitations of topical satire by creating satiric targets which endure within the context of his novels and so maintain a perennial interest. I hope further to show how Smollett's use of satire determines the various moods of the novel and helps to create its structural pattern. Finally, I hope to show that the recurrent pattern in these novels suggests that the satirical outlook of Smollett the novelist is the means by which man can face a world which falls far short of his ideals of perfection and goodness, and shield himself from the effects of the vice and folly of mankind.

CHAPTER I

SMOLLETT'S CONCEPTION OF SATIRE

At the very outset of his career as a novelist Smollett makes his intention quite explicit by beginning his Preface to Roderick Random with this statement:

Of all kinds of satire, there is none so entertaining and universally improving, as that which is introduced, as it were, occasionally, in the course of an interesting story, which brings every incident home to life; and, by representing familiar scenes in an uncommon and amusing point of view, invests them with all the graces of novelty, while nature is appealed to in every particular. (I,xxxix)¹

In his view a novel must be more than a representation of life, more than the story of a hero who holds the reader's attention throughout a succession of episodes. The novel must also have its "uniform Plan" to which all its parts must be subservient, and clearly he intends that satire should give form to the novel by investing all its incidents in the satiric light. Satire, therefore, has the power to make familiar scenes interesting to the reader because the satiric incident is intrinsically a humorous moment, and because it also opens the reader's eyes to a new way of looking at the world. But not only does satire create amusement and novelty, it is also "universally improving", so that in giving his novel a moral purpose Smollett was subscribing to the common and traditional belief that literature should both delight and instruct the reader. In Rambler, No. 4, of March 31st, 1750, when Smollett was already involved in the writing of his second novel, Peregrine Pickle, Samuel Johnson expressed much the same idea when he

gave his pronouncement on the "comedy of romance", as he termed the new fashion in works of fiction that appeared to be written "chiefly for the young, the ignorant, and the idle, to whom they serve as lectures of conduct, and introductions into life."² Obviously such readers had to be shielded from the true picture of the world's depravity. It was the novelist's duty, not just to imitate nature, but to select and arrange the aspects of reality in order to achieve a moral purpose. Villainy must never be shown attractively, so good and bad parts must never be mingled in a principal personage to the extent that the reader, by sympathizing with the good part, might overlook the faults. In Johnson's view it was clear that the novelist had to portray evil in such a way as to arouse the reader's disgust:

Vice, for vice is necessary to be shewn, should always disgust; nor should the graces of gaiety, or the dignity of courage, be so united with it, as to reconcile it to the mind. Wherever it appears, it should raise hatred by the malignity of its practices, and contempt by the meanness of its stratagems; for while it is supported by either parts or spirit, it will be seldom heartily abhorred.³

In this essay Johnson does not refer specifically to satire, but traditionally vice and folly are the proper concern of the satirist; the satiric vision exaggerates the incongruities and absurdities of man's behavior. The similarity and contemporaneity of Johnson's and Smollett's views suggest that they were both expressing a commonly held belief. Johnson is expounding a moral theory of the novel; Smollett is writing a moral novel. Johnson considers that the portrayal of vice must arouse the reader's hatred and contempt; Smollett suggests that Roderick Random will achieve a moral effect when he shows his hero suffering from the base indifference of an evil world. In this way he

will arouse "that generous indignation which ought to animate the reader against the sordid and vicious disposition of the world" (I,xli), and which was so lacking in Le Sage's novel. Smollett's "satire on mankind" therefore provides the background of a vicious world, against which he will portray a long-suffering, but virtuous and sympathetic hero:

The reader gratifies his curiosity in pursuing the adventures of a person in whose favour he is prepossessed; he espouses his cause, he sympathises with him in distress; his indignation is heated against the authors of his calamity; the humane passions are inflamed; the contrast between dejected virtue and insulting vice appears with greater aggravation; and every impression having a double force on the imagination, the memory retains the circumstance, and the heart improves by the example. (I,xxxix)

Most of the action in Smollett's early novels shows vice triumphant. The incidents suggest a world in which the grasping, selfish and fraudulent characters set the pattern of behaviour. Roderick's heartless cousins and the vicious naval officers seem to represent the social norm, against which the hero must struggle to assert himself. This view of society is the result of the satiric vision which magnifies the blemishes of humanity like a Hogarth caricature or like Gulliver's perception of Brobdingnagian abnormalities. Yet Smollett is not content to leave the reader with the final impression of a malignant world. Instead, his sentimental or happy endings reverse the image shown by the satiric vision. His virtuous heroes must receive their just rewards: Roderick wins his Narcissa, finds a long-lost father and inherits a fortune; Peregrine is also allowed to marry his Emilia and gain a fortune; Renaldo is re-united with Monimia, Launcelot with Aurelia; Humphry Clinker ends with a trio of marriages. On the other hand, Smollett's vicious anti-hero, Ferdinand, after enjoying his rascally

successes, must be reduced to sickness, poverty and utter despair for the happy ending. Smollett, in his novels, attempts to combine both points of view -- the satiric and the sentimental -- and one of the biggest weaknesses in his narratives is the fortuitous jump from one extreme to another. However, the greater and the more interesting part of Smollett's novels is that which shows vice and folly in ascendance. This is the view of life which spurs the satirist into action, when he poses as an arbiter of human behaviour in order to expose, ridicule and punish those whom he perceives to contravene his standards of morality.

This is the role adopted by the Poet in Smollett's first offering to the public, Advice -- A Satire, and in its sequel, Reproof -- A Satire.⁴ These two poems, which were afterwards published together, have little intrinsic literary value, yet they do illustrate how Smollett thought about the function of satire at the beginning of his literary career, and also they begin to show the very nature of Smollett's satire. Both poems take the form of a dialogue between the Poet and his Friend, a technique used by Pope in his Epilogue to the Satires in Two Dialogues. Pope, too, is one of the few figures in Smollett's poems to receive praise, while in Sir Launcelot Greaves Launcelot cites Pope as the ideal satirist against whom he measures the accomplishments of Dick Distich, the mad satirist (X,255). Smollett's attacks on Bubo, Tyrawley and Atticus (Robert Walpole) and his note characterizing Lloyd as a "child of dirt" recall Pope's satires. Perhaps the position taken by Smollett's Poet in Advice and Reproof is best illustrated by Pope's footnote at the end of the Epilogue:

This was the last poem of the kind printed by our author, with a resolution to publish no more; but to enter thus, in the most plain and solemn manner he could, a sort of PROTEST against that insuperable corruption and depravity of manners, which he had been so unhappy as to live and see. Could he have hoped to have amended any, he had continued those attacks; but bad men were grown so shameless and so powerful, that Ridicule was become as unsafe as it was ineffectual. The Poem raised him, as he knew it would, some enemies; but he had reason to be satisfied with the approbation of good men, and the testimony of his own conscience.⁵

Smollett's Poet also feels bound to make a protest against the corruption of society, and he too claims to be guided only by his conscience, to which he addresses this extravagant apostrophe:

Hail, sacred power! my glory and my guide!
 Fair source of mental peace, whate'er betide!
 Safe in thy shelter, let disaster roll
 Eternal hurricanes around my soul:
 My soul serene amidst the storms shall reign,
 And smile to see their fury burst in vain!⁶

Although the irony of Pope's footnote is apparent, Smollett's Poet would seem to be taking up arms to carry on the fight from which Pope has withdrawn. In Advice the Friend counsels the Poet who is bemoaning the fact that his devotion to his Muse has left him poverty-stricken. The Friend's advice is to bestow praise on such public figures as Newcastle, Grafton, Granville, Bath, Pitt, Chomdeley and Younge, but the Poet questions the virtues attached to them by the Friend, and Smollett's footnotes make the irony of the Friend's remarks abundantly clear.⁷ The Poet refuses to become a toady of the rich and famous, and rejects the Friend's suggestion that he should insinuate himself into the affections of some powerful lady or lord who could raise him into a public position. The suggestion that homosexual service should be the means of advancement immediately arouses the Poet's indignation, making him launch into a tirade denouncing the vice that "poisons genial love,

and manhood stains" (Advice,94). The Friend advises him to curb his spleen, but the Poet's reply is a statement of the traditional pose of the satirist who uses his literary art to defend virtue and to castigate vice:

But if an impious wretch, with frantic pride,
Throws honour, truth, and decency aside;
If not by reason awed, nor check'd by fears,
He counts his glories from the stains he bears,
The indignant Muse to Virtue's aid shall rise,
And fix the brand of infamy on vice. (Advice,125-130)

Neither does the Poet accept the Friend's advice to practise slander and defamation in order to gain the attention of a lady of quality, nor will he join the pack of backbiting critics, so that the Friend sees no hope of his success:

Too coy to flatter, and too proud to serve,
Thine be the joyless dignity to starve. (Advice,235-6)

The dialogue continues in Reproof when the Friend complains that the Poet has injured the Friend by publishing the advice he had so freely given. He then reproaches the Poet for branding Cope as a cowardly general when a court martial had exonerated his behaviour, and the Poet's reply is to turn the episode of the general's flight from battle into an animal fable to illustrate how the court has 'whitewashed' the general's deplorable conduct. When the Friend accuses the Poet of misanthropy because of the lack of praise in his verse, the Poet changes his tone to eulogize Stanhope (the Earl of Chesterfield), Barnard, Pope, Cobham and "the melting Scot".⁸ However, the Poet cannot maintain this tone for very long:

But lo! a swarm of harpies intervene,
To ravage, mangle, and pollute the scene! (Reproof, 123-4)

Throughout both poems the Poet is characterized by his speeches as a man of uncompromising moral fervour, burning with pride and independence. He expresses his scorn of a corrupt and venal society and defies the people whom he names as examples of the vices he denounces. The Poet is essentially a reformer, using his satire as a weapon to purge the world of vice and folly. Although to the Friend the Poet's railings appear to be the result of his spleen and rancour, nevertheless the Poet insists that his satire derives from altruistic motives. He directs his audience's attention to the vices that are flaunted before them:

Look round and see
What vices flourish still unpruned by me:
Corruption, roll'd in a triumphant car,
Displays his burnish'd front and glittering star,
Nor heeds the public scorn, or transient curse,
Unknown alike to honour and remorse. (Reproof, 133-8)

As a satirist the Poet has the power to spotlight the vices which go unheeded in the world and like the traditional satirist, he considers his verse as a scourge to punish the offenders:

Nor has my satire yet supplied a scourge
For the vile tribes of usurers and bites,
Who sneak at Jonathan's, and swear at White's.
Each low pursuit, and slighter folly, bred
Within the selfish heart and hollow head,
Thrives uncontroll'd, and blossoms o'er the land,
Nor feels the rigour of my chastening hand. (Reproof, 144-150)

In the sense that the dialogue conducted in these two poems is concerned with the duty of the poet towards society, these poems may be regarded as being about satire. The satirical response is the Poet's answer to the calumny which he perceives in society. The Poet, in order to remain steadfastly independent, must reject the questionable forms

of patronage advocated by the Friend. The Poet is the guardian of truth and morality; his dedication to his Muse makes him decry the vices and follies of mankind. The mainstream of the dialogue is an examination of the function of satire, but besides being about satire, the poems also are satires, enacting in the process of the dialogue the war on evil which the Poet regards as his mission:

Thanks to discord, war shall be my friend;
And mortal rage heroic courage lend
To pierce the gleaming squadron of the foe,
And win renown by some distinguish'd blow. (Advice, 237-240)

In the course of the two dialogues, in less than five hundred lines of verse, Smollett manages to cast aspersions on thirty-six individual figures as well as mentioning several other undesirable social types, against which he sets nine praiseworthy figures. All are introduced incidentally as examples to illustrate the Poet's arguments. The discussion about satire becomes the occasion for Smollett to put his satire into action by introducing and attacking his victims. The dialogues become the vehicle for Smollett's satire. The technique is similar to that proposed by Smollett in his Preface to Roderick Random, in which satire is to be introduced "occasionally, in the course of an interesting story" (I, xxxix). Instead of an interesting story, the poems have a discussion about satire, but both story and discussion provide the opportunity or occasion for Smollett to introduce his satire.

Smollett's victims in Advice and Reproof receive a variety of treatment. Some are identified by their real names and in a few cases Smollett adds a footnote to explain the victim's foible. The reader is left to guess at other names of which only the initial letters are

printed. Other victims are disguised by nicknames such as Atticus, Bubo, Pollio, Chardin and Codrus, which Smollett's eighteenth-century audience might have been expected to recognize. The mode of attack in this satire ranges from the mere coupling of an uncomplimentary epithet with a proper name to the more extensive abuse of Rich who is castigated for his dullness and his devotion to "A hell-denouncing priest and whore" (Advice, 172), by which is meant his Methodism and his wife. Sir John Cope receives passing treatment in Advice for his cowardice in battle, but in Reproof Smollett returns to the attack in a fable of fifty-seven lines exposing the hypocrisy of the court which cleared Cope of blame. The most sustained attack in these poems is against those patrons who use their largesse as a means of satisfying their personal whims, especially those like Pollio and Chardin who practise and defend pederasty.

Smollett's choice of target provides a connecting link between the poems and his first novel, in which several of the same victims reappear. In Roderick Random Rich becomes Mr. Vandal, of whom Melopoyne says, "I have since been informed, that the poor man's head, which was not naturally clear, had been disordered with superstition, and that he laboured under the tyranny of a wife, and the terrors of hell-fire at the same time" (III,158). In both poem and novel the insult is put into the mouth of a character instead of being the direct expression of the author. Earl Strutwell appears to be modelled on patrons like Pollio and Chardin. In Advice the Poet merely denounces their homosexual practices; in Roderick Random the same denunciation becomes part of the

dramatic action when Roderick indignantly rejects the lord's advances and righteously quotes the Poet's lines from the poem to condemn his behaviour.

Advice and Reproof enable us to discern the roots of Smollett's satire by showing us his methods of attack in their simplest forms. All satire, of course, involves an attack upon the author's chosen victims. In these poems satire means the insulting of Smollett's personal enemy, Rich, as well as the denouncing of public figures for faults that were common knowledge. Smollett is also being satirical when he composes an animal fable which strips away the pretension and hypocrisy of Cope's trial so that the reader can recognize the truth. Smollett practises all these modes of satire in his novels, but his development as a novelist is due to a large extent to his development as a satirist when he moves away from the vilification of his personal enemies towards the exposure of social evils, and the ridicule of fictional characters instead of actual persons.

Although in Roderick Random Smollett continued his habit of personal attack, nevertheless he does attempt in the Apologue to soften the blow of his satire by suggesting that his target was generalized vice and folly rather than particular persons, and that his reader should not appropriate to himself "that which equally belongs to five hundred different people" (I, xlvii).⁹ Perhaps Smollett felt that his satire left him vulnerable to charges of libel, but more likely he was using the disclaimer as the stock device or trademark of the satirist. In 1757 the second edition of Peregrine Pickle was prefaced by an

Advertisement in which Smollett defended himself against the charge of having defamed the characters of particular persons in the first edition, from which Smollett had expunged some eighty pages of scurrilous attack, notably the disparaging remarks on Garrick's acting.¹⁰ The same wariness against counter-attack is also the subject of the correspondence between Jonathan Dustwich, the fictional editor of the letters, and Henry Davis, the Bookseller, at the beginning of Humphry Clinker. The first two apologies were quite likely intended to be taken seriously, but the latter becomes humorously ironic, both in respect of the novel that follows, and also in regard to Smollett's own experiences before the Court of the King's Bench in the Admiral Knowles affair.

The idea of satire as the author's venting of his personal spite in a direct attack on a real individual would scarcely be acceptable to us today when we prefer more generalized targets and more subtle means of attack by parody and insinuation rather than insult and invective. Yet Advice and Reproof show us that Smollett's satire begins with the latter. What is more, Smollett, in his novels, continues to use the word to describe an attack, whether verbal or perhaps physical, by one of his characters on another. The young Roderick merely writes satires in order to revenge himself on his enemies; Miss Snapper, however, proves herself a "satirical lady" (III, 63) with her sharp retorts to the foolish captain in the coach; Obadiah, Ferdinand's fellow coach-passenger, suffers from "the satire of this female orator" (VIII, 182) when he provokes the wrath of the plump lady. Nor is satire confined to verbal battles. Peregrine is able to quell the customs officer with his

satirical look. He is also the author of "practical satires" which are somewhat crude practical jokes, justifiable as satires only because they depend on the victim's foibles for their success. As a youthful "practical satirist" Peregrine is able to arrange pranks which cruelly punish Trunnion's weaknesses. As he matures he is able to expose the follies of society in his fortune-telling adventures with Cadwallader, which are really a series of elaborate practical jokes serving to expose and punish some of the more ridiculous members of London society. Peregrine's adoption of the gypsy wench has a similar effect. In a 'Pygmalion-like' episode he coaches the girl's speech and manners until she is able to participate in social gatherings. Like Hornbeck's wife in the same novel, the girl soon acquires the façade of respectability and joins with the ladies at cards. Ironically, when the well-born hostess cheats, the gypsy is expelled from the salon because she is unable to refrain from indignantly exposing the lady's perfidy.

Not only do Smollett's novels abound with satirical comments and satirical episodes, but they are also well stocked with characters who may be considered as satirists in Smollett's sense of the role. Roderick and Peregrine are explicitly described as satirists, but all of Smollett's heroes fulfil this role to some extent. Ferdinand, Launcelot and Matthew Bramble all follow the path established by the Poet in Advice by perceiving the faults in society. Ferdinand, of course, tries to exploit human weaknesses for his own benefit while Launcelot nobly relieves society of some of its evils. Matthew is more of an impartial observer who records his experiences of human folly for the benefit of his correspondent. Cadwallader and Ferret are also malcontents who play satiric roles, but they take the extreme position of misanthropy, and their personalities are

corroded by their pessimistic outlook on life. In the end Cadwallader, under the benign influence of the reformed Peregrine, is cured of his misanthropy; Ferret, perhaps more realistically, does not reform. For the heroes of the novels, however, the satirical role is a transitory experience after which they are prepared to retire with their fortunes from the hurly-burly of the wicked world, purged of their discontent.

Merely recognizing the presence of Smollett's satire is comparatively easy; in order to show the effect that satire has on the tone and structure of Smollett's novels we must categorize the various satiric techniques which Smollett uses, and the responses which they elicit. Both satire and comedy evoke laughter by their perception of the human condition, but there is a distinct difference in the quality of this laughter. Comedy depends upon the reader's acceptance of the comic situation and his attachment to the comic character. Satire, however, involves judgment, and the satirist ensures that the reader's amusement is conditioned by his disapproval of the victim to produce a blend of entertainment and contempt. The result, as Gilbert Highet expresses it, is "neither tears nor hearty laughter, but a wry grimace which sometimes, involuntarily, breaks into a smile."¹¹ There are comic moments and comic characters in Smollett's novels, but there is also the vituperation of personal abuse. On the one hand there is the uncommitted laughter of comedy; on the other hand is the bitterness of the author's attack on his personal enemy. Smollett's satire ranges between these two extremes, arousing the typical feeling of sardonic amusement and scorn at the incongruities and absurdities revealed by the satiric vision.

In the Prefatory Address to Ferdinand Count Fathom Smollett refers to his "attempts to subject folly to ridicule, and vice to indignation" (VIII,4). Ridicule and indignation may be considered as the opposing tendencies of his satire, comedy and vituperation its outer limits. Within this band is the broad range of Smollett's satire, and because the various modes of his satire merge into each other, it is convenient to use the term "satiric spectrum" to suggest the varieties of tonal shading within the general definition of his satire,

In his discussion of Swift's satire, Rosenheim also uses the concept of the "satiric spectrum" but defines it according to the purpose of the satirist, whether his intention is to punish or to reform his victim. By this view satire may be either persuasive or punitive, or perhaps combine something of both qualities.¹² Where the satire is mainly persuasive, it verges towards the traditional art of persuasion -- rhetoric -- from which it is distinguished by the satiric techniques of exaggeration, distortion, analogy, derisive metaphors, manifest sarcasm and irony, all aspects of the "satiric fiction". At the other extreme, punitive satire becomes invective and vituperation aimed at the "historic particular" which distinguishes it from comedy, where the comic figure is treated with detachment or affection. Arthur Melville Clark also agrees that the twin purposes of satire are "the exposure of folly and the castigation of vice", but prefers not to try to judge it from its effect on vice and folly.¹³ In his view the moral purpose of satire is a convention to justify the satirist's concern with vice and folly, although in reality this is his true concern, just as a love-lyricist

deals with love and an elegist deals with grief. Clark regards the satirist's moral stand as a pose, an agreeable fiction accepted by the reader whose conscience is thus no longer troubled by the fact that he is deriving pleasure from the contemplation of evil, or that he should be enjoying the spectacle of a writer venting his rage at a defenseless victim. Making satire seem to serve a moral purpose mollifies the reader so that he can now enjoy the author's virulence which gives him "a kind of astringent pleasure like an acid drop or a dash of bitters."¹⁴

Therefore, instead of dealing with the ostensible purpose of satire, Clark defines another "satiric spectrum" based on the means by which the satirist pursues his attack. In its most light-hearted mood where the humour is only slightly tinged with malice, satire is distinguished by the wit which the satirist uses to demonstrate his superiority over his victim. Next comes ridicule when the author uses a gay malice to belittle his victims with a laughing scorn, raillery or derision. This may merge into irony which is the art of implication and insinuation, one of the satirist's most characteristic and potent weapons. A more primitive form of irony is sarcasm in which the satirist's meaning is directly opposite to his literal statement. This merges into cynicism, the obverse of idealism, when the satirist makes the assumption that vice triumphs. With the pessimistic acceptance of defeat the mood becomes sardonic, when the satirist is determined to laugh in order that he may not weep, and finally satire becomes invective when it is the direct expression of the satirist's righteous indignation. Hence the seven qualities of Clark's satiric spectrum range between

humour, which is distinguished from satire by its lack of malice, and anathema, which lacks the wit and invention of satiric invective.

Both Rosenheim's and Clark's versions of the satiric spectrum have some relevance to Smollett's satire. It may be possible to equate Smollett's aim of arousing indignation with Rosenheim's persuasive role of satire, and Smollett's ridicule with punitive satire, but Rosenheim's spectrum has no allowance for Smollett's progression from libellous epithets attached to public figures to the comic characterizations of Trunnion and Bramble. Clark's spectrum ranging from humour to anathema would cover the scope of Smollett's satire, but his gradations of the satiric mode are too subtle to suit the techniques employed by Smollett to show satire in action. Instead we must define a satiric spectrum which is suited to Smollett's conception of satire and the role of the satirist.

Smollett's attacks in his novels on Rich, Garrick and Quin, in which the author gave vent to his personal spite, may be considered the lower limit of the spectrum. This form of satire constitutes only a very minor part of the first two novels and is completely missing in the later ones. The closest fictional representation of this mood may be seen in the punishments which Roderick and Peregrine exact upon their enemies. Roderick's beating of his schoolmaster or of Squire O'Donnell, and Peregrine's beating of Hornbeck or of the mousquetaire are dramatic portrayals of the revenge of the satirist who traditionally writes about the scourge of his verse and the lash of his resentment. In this way the novelist punishes the characters whose malignity arouses the

indignation of the hero.

If we remember that throughout his novels Smollett portrayed his heroes as satirists who provide the standard of judgment, then it is possible to evaluate the type of satire from the reaction of the hero. When Roderick suffers the malevolence of his relatives and personal acquaintances, he fights back indignantly. But Roderick is also the victim of many other characters who fulfil their 'normal' social roles in inflicting indignity upon the hero. Roderick has no opportunity to revenge himself on the highwayman, the cheating innkeeper, the card-sharper, the insolent footmen, and clerks at the Navy Office and Surgeon's Hall, or the press-gang. In these episodes Roderick is the innocent sufferer without recompense. His vicissitudes emphasize the "sordid and vicious disposition of the world" (I,xli) and if the reader can sympathize with Roderick, then he should feel the indignation which Smollett stated it was his intention to arouse. Some figures such as Captain Oakum, the surgeon Mackshane or Lieutenant Crampley make more of an impact than the others so that it is possible to see them as examples of individual selfishness and animosity, as well as illustrating the faults of a social system that gives such people power over the hero. The degree of feeling in this type of episode depends upon the degree of Roderick's involvement. He is most indignant when he is mistreated by his own relatives and personal acquaintances, and these are the occasions on which he fights back with physical violence. On the other hand some of the slights he receives barely affect him personally, and this type of incident is recorded for the reader's

benefit with the minimum of personal feeling, verging towards the completely dispassionate type of observation which is the centre of the spectrum.

If indignation is one of the characteristic effects of satire, the other, according to Smollett, is ridicule. Therefore we can consider indignation and ridicule as the two opposing tendencies of Smollett's satire, and between them we can recognize a neutral zone where each of these modes loses its characteristic mood until we are left with the straight-faced description of events and characters in which the author's condemnation is implied, instead of being conditioned by overtones of indignation or ridicule.

The ridicule of folly is one of the traditional aims of satire. There is a hint of this in Advice when Smollett develops his attack on Rich by characterizing him as a hen-pecked and superstitious fool. Nevertheless the success of this particular attack depends upon the reader being able to identify the original Rich in the real world, as the character is not sufficiently developed to come alive as an independent creation within the lines of the poem. In Roderick Random Roderick meets several characters whose ridiculous behaviour seems designed to arouse amusement rather than indignation. The follies of Captain Weazel, Captain Whiffle or Narcissa's aunt have little effect on the action of the novel. The hero is not touched by their idiosyncracies, but instead is able to laugh at their foolish antics. Peregrine, being a "practical satirist", goes even farther by arranging incidents in order to show this type of character in the most ridiculous

light possible for his own amusement.

The satiric technique involved in this type of characterization is similar to the caricature of the political cartoonist who fixes upon and exaggerates his subject's oddities to make them a point of recognition and of ridicule. Many of Smollett's most successful characterizations have been attributed to historical personages, but given sufficient development within the novel, the character needs no extrinsic source in order to create amusement. Pallet and the Physician, whom Peregrine meets in Paris, are both figures of fun who arouse our derisive laughter. No-one has ever positively identified the original of the artist, but there is sufficient evidence to accept the Physician as a caricature of Akenside.¹⁵ Nevertheless, within the context of the novel, both characters receive equally ignominious treatment, so that for the modern reader they may both be regarded as characteristic types rather than grotesque caricatures of real people.

There is a wide range in this type of satiric characterization according to how ridiculously or how believably the victim is portrayed, and also depending on the relationship of the character to the hero. At one edge of this band of the spectrum the hero remains unmoved by his encounter with the foolish character. Roderick is content to describe Whiffle's imbecility for the reader's amusement without showing any strong sense of condemnation. Similarly Peregrine derives cursory amusement from his encounter with the country squire who has hired an artist to modernize the fashions in his ancestral portraits, without feeling the need to retaliate. Roderick also derives amusement from

his encounter with Weazel, but in this case takes a more active role in arranging events in order to expose Weazel's absurdities. This mode of active participation in the satire goes to greater lengths in Peregrine's practical jokes which serve to emphasize the inferiority of the victims in order to evoke the reader's derision. At the other extreme the quirks of a character, although providing some amusement, are not so inane as to elicit the reader's disdain and do not prevent the hero's or the reader's approval of the character as a whole. In this category are Smollett's clowns, and particularly his nautical characters with their superabundance of seaman's metaphors. It is possible to arrange this type of caricature along a continuum which ranges from dispassionate observation to complete acceptance. At the latter extreme where the character becomes a completely integrated and likable creation we are no longer dealing with satire. When the reader's acceptance of the character is no longer conditioned by a moral judgment or the hero's sentimental attachment, then we can say that we have crossed that hazy border where satire in its most gentle moods merges almost imperceptibly with the world of comedy.

Between Smollett's poles of indignation and ridicule lies an indeterminate area where the world of vice and folly is set before the reader without the obvious condemnation of the novelist. Instead, the description of the world reads like mere reportage, and the reader is left to infer the author's attitude from the context of the passage or from its intrinsic irony.¹⁶ Today this might be regarded as the most typical of all the satiric modes, and indeed some of the extreme positions

defined by Smollett as satire might not be accepted in our modern understanding of the word. The roots of this particular mode of satire may be discerned in Smollett's Reproof when the Poet composes an animal fable to expose the iniquity of Cope's court martial. The Poet delights in the wit of his inventiveness without the bitterness with which he rails against more personal affronts, nor the derision with which he attacks Rich. This mode of satire is evident in Roderick Random when Roderick naïvely describes the world of vice and folly without being personally inflamed by what he sees. His description of the Carthagera expedition is almost journalistic, but it becomes satire because the reader realizes that the novelist is presenting this picture of the world for the reader's condemnation. In Count Fathom this mode becomes more obvious when the novelist occasionally drops his mode of impersonal narration to make an editorial aside addressed to the reader. Whenever the satirist-hero acts as a detached observer of the foibles of mankind we experience the typically wry amusement of satire in the contemplation of our shortcomings, without the extremes of indignation or derision which are the feelings associated with Smollett's principal modes of satire. The reader's response to this type of satire must necessarily depend to some extent upon his own circumstances. Obviously a reader who had lost a leg at Carthagera would hardly be able to read Smollett's description of the commanding officers' incompetence with the same amused detachment of a modern reader; his reaction might be closer to the indignation which Roderick shows towards his bullying schoolmaster. On the other hand the modern reader is less likely to have personal

experience of the sort of cruelties practised by a Captain Oakum, and so might regard this figure with the amused detachment with which Roderick describes the French soldiers.

Conceiving satire as a spectrum allows for an infinite gradation of satiric modes in which one type of satire merges into another, and also provides for some flexibility in the response to a particular incident or character. This is especially important in the satiric novel when the reader responds subjectively to a character, or when a character develops within the novel so that our final judgment need not be the same as our first impression. The various shades of satire in the spectrum also suggest the various moods which accompany the satire. I shall proceed now with a more detailed examination of the satire in each of the novels in order to show how Smollett used satire in the development of the structural pattern of the novel. We shall also be able to see more clearly the point at which Smollett leaves satire behind him to enter the world of comedy.

CHAPTER II

THE SATIRIST AS HERO

In a letter to Alexander Carlyle, Smollett described his first novel as "a Romance . . . intended as a satire upon mankind."¹ Generally the first aspect of his work has received more attention than the latter because it is possible to read both Roderick Random and Peregrine Pickle as examples of the species of Bildungsroman. Both novels trace the life of a young man from birth to maturity, showing how their heroes acquire experience of life and a knowledge of the ways of the world, until they are suddenly endowed with wealth, marry their beloved sweet-hearts, and retire from the busy world. In this sense both novels may be considered as romances, yet if we are to read these novels for their plots we may feel as Dr. Johnson did about Richardson's novels; even if we were not driven to hang ourselves we should at least finish with a poor opinion of Smollett as a novelist.² Johnson's advice was to read Richardson for the sentiment, and consider the story only as giving occasion to the sentiment, whereas Smollett's correspondence and his prefaces to the novels lead us to a consideration of the satire within the novel. Johnson praised Richardson for his presentation of the individual heart, the interior view of virtue under stress, but Smollett directs us to the external view of mankind in its most foolish and vicious moments when it comes under the harsh glare of the satirist's spotlight. Smollett's strength as a writer of narrative lies in the

rapid profusion of action which moves quickly from scene to scene and from incident to incident. Smollett is not to be admired for the construction of a complex plot or the detailed examination of the human psyche. His first two novels are both constructed from a series of episodes, following the fortune of the hero from adventure to adventure, a chain-like structure scarcely deserving to be called a plot. Nevertheless many of these incidents have satiric overtones. By examining the relationship of the hero to the satiric victim we may discern the structural pattern in the novel. To some extent the progress of the hero is keyed to his function in the satire. Thus the two aspects of the novel -- romance and satire -- meet in the figure of the protagonist.

One of the obstacles to the appreciation of these early novels is the characterization of the central figure. Neither Roderick nor Peregrine arouses much sympathy in the reader, who feels, therefore, somewhat grieved that these near-scoundrels should be rewarded with rich inheritances and beautiful wives, especially when it seems that Smollett himself approved of Roderick as a person of "modest merit" (I,xli), an epithet which Edward Wagenknecht regards as "one of the supremely inappropriate labels of all time."³ Another response is to dismiss these characters from the world of reality by recognizing Smollett's claim to have written a romance; thus Gordon Hall Gerould can remain unaffected by Smollett's characters and happenings by relegating them to a fairy-tale world:

He continued to be a romancer when he became a novelist. Otherwise, indeed, the conclusion of Roderick Random, like that of Humphry Clinker, would be absurd, while Peregrine Pickle's happy marriage would be insupportable. Otherwise, too, we should find the coincidences that

swarm in all the stories quite beyond belief. They do not disturb us, because we have entered for the time the realm of romance.⁴

Robert Lovett also regards Peregrine's winning of Emilia, after the "degrading vicissitudes" which have led to "his moral collapse", as a gross injustice.⁵ David Garnett's answer to this type of criticism is to suggest that it is all a farce and that the reader can enjoy the violence and brutality with complete detachment:

It is great fun, but the characters are clowns. We can feel pathos without believing that they really feel like human beings when they are knocked over the head with a cudgel. We hear the sound of wood hitting wood.⁶

There is considerable justification in Roderick Random for regarding Roderick more as an anti-hero than as conventional hero. The revenge which he wreaks upon his schoolmaster or on his cousin's tutor, his willingness to jump into bed with Mr. Crab's servant or M. Lavement's daughter, his assault of O'Donnell and Crampley, his matrimonial pursuits of Miss Snapper and Melinda, and especially his callous misuse of Strap's money and services -- to which Sir Walter Scott particularly objected -- hardly endear him to the reader. Neither is his vicious temper counter-balanced adequately by his sympathy for Miss Williams or Tom Bowling, while his passion for Narcissa, although presented as a pure, ennobling feeling, has little effect on his conduct. According to G. H. Maynadier, this "graceless hero . . . has done nothing to merit such fortune" as he gains in the end; "nothing could be more undeserved than such a reward, nothing more unexpected than the way it came about."⁷ Maynadier regards it as a fault in the author that Smollett should present his Roderick with such complacency, considering that "the fatal

fault with this hero is that in his coldest, soberest moments he has a dull sense of honour."⁸

Another editor of Smollett's works, George Saintsbury, takes a milder view of Roderick:

In the latter, indeed, there is not much harm. He has little gratitude, and no delicacy; he seems to have no objection to doing good to his friends, but to be much more bent on doing harm to his enemies, and satisfying his own desires.⁹

At the other extreme is the opinion of L. S. Benjamin, who sees Roderick as "an unutterable scamp", and considers all the characters completely unworthy.¹⁰ He justifies such a view by quoting from Smollett's Preface where Smollett excuses the oaths which he has put into the mouths of his characters as being necessary to "expose the absurdity of such miserable expletives" (I,xliii). Benjamin sees Smollett's portrayal of unworthy characters as an extension of this method of satiric exposure:

If oaths can be made absurd by exaggeration, why not the indiscriminate chasing of women, the useless lives of wastrel men? Irony is the most dangerous weapon in the literary arsenal: it, more often than not, acts as a boomerang. 'Jonathan Wild' was read as an interesting account of that scoundrel, and not as Fielding intended it. Was not 'Roderick Random' intended, not as a glorification of the many startling indecencies, may not these, too, have been deliberately set down by Smollett for the same purpose as he introduced foul language?¹¹

Unfortunately Benjamin produces no evidence from the work to support his view, and there is nothing in Smollett's Preface to suggest that he was writing with tongue in cheek about his hero of "modest merit". Moreover, the forthright style of Smollett's writing, for which he is often praised, scarcely lends itself to the more intricate and devious means by which a writer suggests a hidden, ironic meaning in the work, while the moments in Smollett's novels when irony and sarcasm are used

to further the satiric purpose stand out clearly from the spare, impersonal description which is the normal mode of the narration. Benjamin's reading of the novel suggests the reaction of the squeamish reader, accustomed to virtuous and impeccable heroes whose behaviour is beyond the reproach of the sternest moralist. Benjamin fails to see that if Smollett sympathizes with his hero it is because Roderick is the satirist's tool in his fight against the world of vice and folly. If Roderick at times appears calculating, mean and revengeful, and at other times full of spite and hot temper, it is because these are the postures adopted by the satirist. Roderick, in fact, as we shall see in a closer examination of the novel's incidents, becomes the satirist, and the novel is partly a dramatization of satire in action. Of course, if Dr. Moore's biography and Smollett's self-portrait in the Prefatory Address of Count Fathom suggest that Smollett himself shared these same qualities of pride, ostentation, jealousy and a haughty quick temper, then it is not difficult to understand why Smollett, the satirist of Advice and Reproof, should show some regard for Roderick, the satirist he created in the novel.

12

Yet this is not to say that all of Roderick's actions are equally reprehensible (in Benjamin's view), or totally justifiable. One of the weaknesses of this type of criticism, which blames Smollett for rewarding a nasty hero, is that these critics fail to discern any development in the hero. Because the hero's somewhat unpleasant personality undergoes no startling reformation, they assume that no development has taken place, whereas an examination of the hero in relation to the satire of

the novels will show that his reward is partly a consequence of the moments when he had shown some compassion, the one quality which is so lacking in the characters exposed by the satire. In Roderick Random this rudimentary structure of the novel is not strongly marked, but like all of Smollett's novels, it may be considered as a literary experiment designed to discover how satire becomes the means by which the persona can deal with a world in which he perceives vice and folly rife.

Roderick Random exposes the reader to the full range of Smollett's satire, utilizing all shades of his satiric spectrum. One of the more primitive of the satirical modes is established in the opening chapters when Roderick reacts violently to the heartlessness and antipathy of his relatives, his schoolteacher, and employer. Roderick is anything but a passive sufferer in these episodes. When he is victimized by the teacher he organizes a cabal of revolt and, with Bowling's help, achieves his revenge by flogging the teacher. Similarly a thrown stone smashes the teeth of his cousin's tutor, and the board strapped to the hand of the recalcitrant schoolboy becomes the weapon of his revenge when he uses it to cut open the head of one of his tormentors. The tone of bitter scorn in the defiance and castigation of his enemies is the typical pose of the traditional satirist, as James Clifford points out in his introduction to Peregrine Pickle:

Satire, as understood in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, involved punishment. 'I'll send abroad a satire with a scourge', George Wither exclaimed. 'Not one shall 'scape him that deserves the lash.' The traditional satirist was always full of rage, continually talking of whipping his enemies, achieving revenge by metaphorically beating and purging evil-doers.¹³

Both George Wither and Smollett's Poet in Advice and Reproof

consider their satiric verses as a scourge and a lash. Dick Distich, the mad satirist in Sir Launcelot Greaves, also talks about inflicting punishment with his "keen iambics" (X,255), and Roderick boasts of the effectiveness of the "lash of my resentment" (I,27). The metaphor of physical punishment used by the satirist is translated into dramatic action in these brutal episodes of revenge. Smollett creates a mood of burning indignation in his dispossessed hero, surrounded by harsh and malevolent relatives. The magnanimity of Bowling is important in showing the other side of the picture. His open-hearted championship of Roderick's cause and his financial generosity are in direct contrast to the meanness of Roderick's cousins. His characterization as an artless seaman, besides being the occasion for his idiosyncratic manner of speech, is also important because it means that he has been separated from the world of avarice which has corrupted Roderick's relatives. Roderick worries that he might lose Bowling's protection, not only because of the risks to which his profession exposed him, but also because he, too, might be corrupted by the world:

[My uncle] was also, no doubt, subject to those vicissitudes of disposition which a change of fortune usually creates, or which a better acquaintance with the world might produce; for I always ascribed his benevolence to the dictates of a heart as yet undebauched by a commerce with mankind. (I,26)

While Roderick's propensity towards the exaction of physical revenge remains a part of his character to which many readers object because it involves him in the delight of sheer brutality, nevertheless this aspect of Smollett's satire becomes less evident with the change of circumstances. As the objects of Roderick's satiric perception

change, so does his mode of attack, and consequently so does the mood within the novel. As a student boarding at Mr. Potion's house, Roderick develops his talents as a literary satirist and lampoonist, attracting the attention of his rich, female cousins on whom he inflicts a comparatively mild punishment:

The reader will easily perceive that this condescension either flowed from the hope of making my poetical capabilities subservient to their malice, or, at least, of screening themselves from the lash of my resentment, which they had effectually provoked. I enjoyed this triumph with great satisfaction; and not only rejected their offer with disdain, but, in all my performances, whether satire or panegyric, industriously avoided mentioning their names, even while I celebrated those of their intimates. This neglect mortified their pride exceedingly. (I,27)

The response of the cousins is to hire a collegian to write verses against Roderick, and when this plan misfires, they instigate Gawky to administer a ducking, to which Roderick's reply is to fire a volley from his garret window. When Gawky refuses Roderick's challenge to a duel, Roderick achieves the typical revenge of the satirist. He has to sell his hat in order to raise money so that he may expose Gawky's cowardice by publishing the story in the news.

These early episodes establish Roderick's role as a satirist having the dual function of exposing and punishing the vices and follies of mankind; they emphasize his pride and quick temper, and refer to his "satirical talents" as his ability to revenge himself on the people whose malevolence arouses his ire. He retains these characteristics to some extent throughout the novel, but when he leaves Scotland the emphasis in the novel shifts from Roderick to the world full of "the selfishness, envy, malice, and base indifference of mankind", as Smollett describes it in his Preface (I,xlii). Roderick's talent serves to expose

this world for the edification and amusement of the reader. Roderick's personal animosity is still evident in the beating he arranges for O'Donnell and in his duel with Crampley, but his revenge on Melinda serves a further purpose in exposing her snobbery to the world. Roderick's perspicacity saves Strap from the machinations of the chandler's widow, and himself from being deceived by the lady at the theatre, two episodes in which Roderick functions as the satirist who exposes the fraud behind the mask of respectability.

In the beginning of the story, Roderick, to whom Smollett allowed the advantages of birth and education, demonstrates his superiority to the people who persecute him with their selfishness, but once he begins the journey to London he no longer retains such mastery over the situation. The affair with Rifle shows him on the defensive, and the incident with the raven has him "in a violent fright" (I,82). Roderick has now become the innocent sufferer of the inhumanity of society, which he sees in the learned innkeeper who, before cheating the travellers, boasts that he is "no stranger to the deceits of mankind" (I,60). Roderick soon learns more of the world's perfidy when he is gulled by the London cardsharp, and when he meets with the indifference of the footmen and the clerks at the Navy Office. Roderick suffers the indignities stemming from the social system which allows the corruption of the Navy Office and which appoints the patently incompetent members of the examining board at Surgeon's Hall to interview him. He suffers the barbarities of the press gang, and once on board ship suffers the malignity of Oakum and Mackshane. Perhaps the best example of Roderick's

functioning as a touchstone in order to illustrate the "base indifference of mankind" (I,xlii) is the shipwreck on the Sussex coast. Roderick is left naked and unconscious on the fore-shore after being treacherously struck down by his ship-mates. The village yokels bandy the wounded sailor from door to door, and even the vicar refuses to play the part of the good Samaritan. Finally Roderick is taken in and cared for by an old lady, a recluse from the society of the village, whose own story shows that she, too, had suffered the malignity of her family when she had dared to marry for love.

In the course of his peregrinations Roderick encounters many absurdities which do not affect him directly, so that throughout the novel there are times when he functions, not as a personal avenger or as the innocent sufferer, but as a relatively dispassionate observer who exposes defects for the reader's enlightenment. Such episodes as the sick parade on board ship or the siege of Carthage are described with a certain naïvety on the part of the narrator. In describing the ineffective strategy behind the attack Roderick discounts those explanations which ascribe it to the incompetence of the generals and achieves an ironic effect when he appears to make an apology for the conduct of the commanders:

Here again certain malicious people took occasion to blame the conduct of their superiors, by saying that, in so doing, they not only unprofitably wasted time, which was very precious, considering the approach of the rainy season, but also allowed the Spaniards to recollect themselves from the terror occasioned by the approach of an English fleet, at least three times as numerous as ever appeared in that part of the world before. But, if I might be allowed to give my opinion of the matter, I would ascribe this delay to the generosity of our chiefs, who scorned to take any advantage that fortune might give them, even

over an enemy. At last, however, we weighed, and anchored again somewhat nearer the harbour's mouth, where we made shift to land our marines, who encamped on the beach in despite of the enemy's shot, which knocked a good many of them on the head. This piece of conduct, in choosing a camp under the walls of an enemy's fortification, which, I believe, never happened before, was practised, I presume, with a view of accustoming the soldiers to stand fire, who were not as yet much used to discipline, most of them having been taken from the plough-tail a few months before. This expedient again has furnished matters for censure against the ministry, for sending a few raw recruits on such an important enterprise, while so many veteran regiments lay inactive at home. But sure our governors had their reasons for so doing, which possibly may be disclosed with other secrets of the deep. Perhaps they were loth to risk their best troops on such desperate service; or the colonels and field officers of the old corps, who, generally speaking, enjoyed their commissions as sinecures or pensions for some domestic services tendered to the court, refused to embark in such a dangerous and precarious undertaking; for which refusal, no doubt, they are much to be commended. (I,84)

It is obvious that such management of the armed services is patently not to be commended, but where Roderick is not personally involved in the mismanagement he can remain detached from the idiocies of military strategy which he describes with quite uncharacteristic irony. This satiric technique enables Smollett to attack not only the strategy of the battle, but also the system of government which awards military command as a sinecure or pension, as well as the futility of the whole conception of the expedition. Similarly Roderick's comments on the battle at Dettingen and on the economy of France have the ring of truthful reportage about them; even if Roderick does not condemn what he sees, nevertheless the reader cannot fail to discern Smollett's judgment on the follies which he is using Roderick to expose. Roderick also exposes lesser foibles in his description of Lavement's pharmaceutical tricks, and in the hypocritical behaviour of the Capuchin monk, Balthazar, when even Roderick seems somewhat shocked at his incestuous

exploits with the peasant's daughters. Nowhere is Roderick's detachment from the action of the novel seen more clearly than in his description of the scene at the inn when two farmers are rooked by the exciseman and the curate Shuffle. Here Roderick makes little comment, but Smollett achieves his satirical effect by letting the participants expose each other. Roderick soon sees that the curate is a cardsharp, but without much surprise:

I did not wonder to find a cheat in canonicals, this being a character frequent in my own country, but I was scandalised at the indecency of his behaviour, which appeared in the oaths he swore, and the bawdy songs which he sang. (I,52)

Nevertheless the curate redeems himself to some extent by the jollity of his entertainment, until the arrival of the vicar. One by one these scoundrels are shown in their true light. The curate gives the truth about the vicar, the exciseman gives the truth about the curate, and the innkeeper reveals the hypocrisy of the exciseman. The innkeeper is condemned implicitly by his own indifference to the farmers' plight, but Roderick himself makes no judgment. Although Roderick witnesses this exposure of human cupidity, the incident has no effect on his development as a character, nor does it affect his actions; it is completely self-contained, although it does serve to prepare the reader for the incident five chapters later when Roderick himself is rooked by the card-sharp in London, when the result is that he is "confounded at the artifice and wickedness of mankind" (I,99).

Among the many characters whom Roderick encounters in his travels are some that stand out, not for the wickedness of their actions, but for their amusing idiosyncracies. As these characters do nothing

to annoy Roderick, he can therefore employ his satirical talents to show them in as ridiculous a light as possible and derive pleasure from observing their antics and their grotesque appearances. Mr. Crab's features are clearly pictured:

This member of the faculty was aged fifty, about five feet high, and ten around the belly; his face was capacious as a full moon, and much of the complexion of a mulberry; his nose, resembling a powder-horn, was swelled to an enormous size, and studded all over with carbuncles; and his little grey eyes reflected the rays in such an oblique manner, that, while he looked a person full in the face, one would have imagined he was admiring the buckle of his shoe. (I,34)

Captain Weazel and the old usurer appear just as ridiculous, and in the bed-changing incident at the inn they are punished by their own weaknesses. The aristocratic pretensions of Weazel and his lady are destroyed by the revelations of the waggoner, although Roderick admits, "Had I not been a novice in the world, I might have easily perceived in her the deplorable vanity and second-hand airs of a lady's woman" (I,67). But to test Weazel's courage Roderick and the waggoner engineer the false alarm of highwayman, which allows even the old usurer to exact some satisfaction from his satirical remarks about the captain's behaviour in the face of danger. Similarly Captain Whiffle and Narcissa's aunt are objects of ridicule developed by this technique of humorous exaggeration. The emphasis in these characterizations is on the follies of mankind rather than its vices, and the role of the satirist in these cases is to strip away the façade of pretension and magnify the ridiculous object beneath.

Smollett uses the same technique of enlarging upon one dominant aspect of a character in his portrayals of Lieutenant Bowling, Morgan

and Jack Rattlin. These characters are often regarded as Smollett's finest achievement in this novel, and, indeed, in a world of cheating and backbiting they stand out for their good-hearted benevolence. Whether we should regard them as satirical or comic creations depends on our understanding of them as people. To be considered as truly comic, the character must come alive as an integrated human being, with whom we can sympathize, and whom we can accept together with his human failings. With these characters, however, the reader is asked to make a moral judgment, to approve of them because of their good qualities and lack of badness. We like Bowling because he is benevolent towards Roderick and a trusty sailor, and at the same time we are amused by his idiosyncratic but harmless mannerisms.

Each of these three characters is distinguished by an amusing manner of speech, a technique which Smollett used and developed throughout his novels. Bowling and Rattlin, like Trunnion and Hawser in Peregrine Pickle and Captain Crowe in Sir Launcelot Greaves, lard their speeches with nautical terms and interpret all their ideas and perceptions with the metaphors of seamanship. Morgan, like Dolly Cowslip in Sir Launcelot Greaves, speaks with a regional dialect, and Smollett imitates his pronunciation in his orthography. In Humphry Clinker Lismahago's Scottish dialect gives him a "clownish air" (XII,71), and both Tabitha and Winnifred betray their modes of speech in their curiously spelled letters. Although Roderick, when he first arrives in London, is recognized as a Scot by his accent, there is no trace of the Scottish dialect in his narrative. Roderick seems to be able to slough off his

Scottish origin with the same ease that he discards his unfashionably long, red hair. Generally the contrast between the 'Received Standard' English of the hero and the quaint dialects of the supporting characters suggests that Smollett is treating the latter with some degree of condescension. Perhaps the country dialects give the speakers an air of naïve provincialism, a natural goodness uncorrupted by contact with the beau monde; certainly Smollett's seamen lack a knowledge of the ways of the world, which may account for their benevolence towards the hero. Nevertheless Roderick provides the standard of judgment within the novel and maintains an air of superiority over these lesser mortals. The reader is asked to approve of the goodness of heart and to applaud the good deeds of Bowling and the others. At the same time their eccentricities are held up for the reader's amusement. Therefore Bowling, Rattlin and Morgan may be considered as standing at the very limit of the satiric spectrum, where satire merges into comedy. They are likable and amusing figures, but we are asked to make a moral judgment on them, and at the same time we sense the slight note of condescension in their portrayal, when Smollett gently ridicules their eccentricities.

As the narrator of the story Roderick is sometimes the controlling figure in the action, but more often the passive observer of what happens. Nevertheless he must always be regarded as providing the standard of judgment. Unlike the hero of a novel such as Gulliver's Travels in which the central figure unwittingly reveals his own weaknesses, Roderick is never betrayed by his creator. If his failings have to be pointed out to the reader, then Roderick is the person to do it. In telling his

story in retrospect Roderick is prepared to reveal his own pretensions and vanity, as when, on his return from France, he joins the beau monde:

Next day I hired very handsome lodgings, not far from Charing Cross, and, in the evening, dressed myself in a plain suit of true Paris cut, and appeared in a front box at the play, where I saw a good deal of company, and was vain enough to believe that I was observed with an uncommon degree of attention and applause. This silly conceit intoxicated me so much, that I was guilty of a thousand ridiculous coquetries; and I dare say, how favourable soever the thoughts of the company might be at my first appearance, they were soon changed, by my absurd behaviour, into pity or contempt. I rose and sat down, covered and uncovered my head twenty times between the acts; pulled out my watch, clapped it to my ear, wound it up, set it, gave it the hearing again; displayed my snuff-box, affected to take snuff, that I might have an opportunity of showing my brilliant, and wiped my nose with a perfumed handkerchief; then dangled my cane, and adjusted my sword-knot, and acted many more fooleries of the same kind, in hopes of obtaining the character of a pretty fellow. (II,190)

It is seldom that Roderick, by explicitly examining and judging his own actions, becomes the scene of the novel; more often he is the observer and the scene is the world which he is satirizing. Yet normally we expect a novel to be about its hero, and the weakness of Roderick Random as a novel is the failure of its two aspects, the satire and the romance, to coalesce, as Ronald Paulson points out:

Smollett, as we have seen, does not judge Roderick as a character immersed in an action but, separate from that action, as an observer. The reader, however, will not allow the observer and the observed as separate an existence as Smollett requires; in fact, he naturally tends to read Roderick Random as a story of the observer, and therefore much of the observed appears to be excessive and irrelevant, and much of the observer appears to be left unexplained. ¹⁴

While this is true generally, nevertheless the passage from the novel quoted above does signal the beginning of Roderick's downfall. When, following his appearance at the theatre, Roderick becomes a man-about-town, we are conscious that his experience of the ways of the world has led to his corruption. When his satiric observations reveal the

foibles of the coffee-house club of Medlar, Wagtail, Slyboot, Bragwell and Ranter, we are aware that Roderick is a member of their society, so that much of the third volume may be regarded as self-satire. As the victim of his own satire Roderick is punished when he reaches the nadir of his fortune in being committed to the debtor's prison.

The novel, therefore, shows us the pattern of the individual who adopts the pose of the satirist when he is alienated from his family. In his travels he learns about the world of vice and folly, and his degradation begins when he tries to emulate the inhabitants of this world. The stories of Miss Williams and Melopoyne, or even the old lady in the Sussex village, are all variations of the same theme, although without Roderick's lucky ending. Their experiences become part of Roderick's learning of the way of the world. These incidents also serve to show Roderick's compassion for his fellow-sufferers, especially his beneficence towards Miss Williams which is instrumental in the plot in re-uniting him with his Narcissa. When he undergoes adversity Roderick's view of the world is the satirical one which emphasizes its cruelties and malevolence, but having survived this experience Roderick, when his good fortune mellows his outlook, is able to withdraw from the world of corruption to his Scottish retreat, and in the final pages to write about finding his true happiness and felicity on earth.

That the same basic pattern is evident in Peregrine Pickle is shown by the happiness which Peregrine feels when fate has been kind to him:

He felt all the ecstasy that must naturally be produced in a young man of his imagination, from such a sudden transition in point of

circumstance; he found himself delivered from confinement and disgrace, without being obliged to any person upon earth for his deliverance; he had it now in his power to retort the contempt of the world in a manner suited to his most sanguine wish; he was reconciled to his friend, and enabled to gratify his love, even upon his own terms; and saw himself in possession of a fortune more ample than his first inheritance, with a stock of experience that would steer him clear of all those quicksands among which he had been formerly wrecked. (VII,256)

Nevertheless, in spite of the similarity of its plot structure, Peregrine Pickle shows a considerable difference in its use of satire from the earlier novel. The change in view-point of the narration from the first to the third person means that the hero is no longer the final arbiter of judgment. In Roderick Random all the follies and vices of the world, and of Roderick himself, are observed and judged by Roderick; in Peregrine Pickle there is an impersonal narration which brings the hero-satirist into the fore-ground of the reader's perspective, so that besides using the hero to expose, ridicule and punish the foibles of mankind, the author is at the same time able to examine explicitly the nature of the satiric persona in the character of the hero to a much greater extent. Whereas Roderick's satiric role seems to be the result of his misfortunes following his birth, Peregrine is portrayed as a congenital humorist, who even as a baby uses his talent for practical jokes, or, as they are termed in the novel, "practical-satires", especially aimed against the long-suffering Trunnion: "one would imagine he had marked out the commodore as a proper object of ridicule, for almost all his little childish satire was levelled against him" (IV,73).

The savagery of some of these 'jokes', and particularly the distressing results which they achieve, scarcely brings them within the

satiric spectrum except that they generally achieve their effect by playing on one of the victim's foibles. When the young Peregrine deliberately treads on Trunnion's gouty toe, the resultant pain reveals the vacuity of Trunnion's nick-name of "Hannibal Tough". Similarly the more elaborate pranks arranged by Peregrine with Hatchway's help play upon Trunnion's quirks of character as sketched by the publican when he introduces Mr. Pickle to the members of the "garrison":

"He be sometimes thrown into perilous passions and quandaries, by the application of his poor kinsmen, whom he can't abide, because as how some of them were the first occasion of his going to sea. Then he sweats with agony at the sight of an attorney; just, for all the world, as some people have an antipathy to a cat; for it seems he was once at law for striking one of his officers, and cast in a swingeing sum. He is, moreover, exceedingly afflicted with goblins that disturb his rest, and keep such a racket in his house, that you would think, God bless us! all the devils in hell had broke loose upon him." (IV,7)

Thus Peregrine may be seen to be punishing the defects in Trunnion's character and at the same time satisfying his childish bent for deriving satisfaction from the discomfiture of others. He describes himself as a "headstrong humourist" (VII,251); Emilia also regards him as an "unyielding humourist" (VII,268); she jocularly considers it "dangerous to tamper with an admirer of [his] disposition" (VII,269), and in accepting his marriage proposal says, "And heaven grant me patience to bear the humours of such a yoke-fellow" (VII,270). The emphasis, then, in this novel is on punishment and ridicule rather than mere exposure of folly, and the hero castigates particular characters for their peculiar foibles instead of merely surveying the defects in the social system.

The type of satire in which the hero acts as a dispassionate

observer of social evil is not nearly so evident in Peregrine Pickle as in Roderick Random. Peregrine does make some comments on French institutions, particularly the porters and customs officers at Calais where the corporal is "mortified at his satirical insinuation" (V,9), and there are passing jibes at the French system of government and the manners of society, but this becomes more effective when it is given dramatic representation as part of the action as when, for instance, Peregrine and Pallet are incarcerated in the Bastille. There are also some comments on Dutch entertainment, but this type of detached observation is an insignificant part of the novel. Merely to recognize evil is not sufficient for Peregrine; his mission is to punish the people who commit vice and folly, which he usually accomplishes by using their own weaknesses against them, although often the punishment is inflicted physically, so that Peregrine follows closely in the manner of the young Roderick. Ronald Paulson is another critic who sees both Roderick and Peregrine as dramatic representations of the traditional satirist; Paulson, like Clifford, uses George Wither as an example to show how the effect of satire is traditionally associated with whipping and beating:

If we look at the formal verse satire written in England at the end of the sixteenth century in imitation of Juvenal, we find many of Roderick's characteristics in the malcontent who is persona. This humorless satirist metaphorically beats, bastinadoes, bleeds, and purges his enemies; his satire is always "Begot long since of Trueth and holy Rage," as Joseph Hall puts it, and he is usually the injured and betrayed who is motivated by envy or revenge, but whose satire is none the less true for that:

Envie waits on my backe, Truth on my side:
Envie will be my Page, and Truth my Guide.¹⁵

Certainly the "malcontent who is persona" describes aptly the

Peregrine of the last volume, when his first fortune has been squandered and his hopes disappointed. He lives modestly and gains entrée to the College of Authors on the strength of "the little fame he had acquired by his late satire" (VII,107), in which he had "lashed some conspicuous characters, with equal truth, spirit, and severity" (VII,86). We are especially reminded of Joseph Hall's satirist in the passage which describes Peregrine's feelings when he finds himself neglected by Sir Steady Steerwell and his complete disgrace is imminent:

He lived, therefore, incessantly exposed to all the pangs of envy and disquiet. When I say envy, I do not mean that sordid passion, in consequence of which a man repines at his neighbour's success, howsoever deserved; but that self-tormenting indignation which is inspired by the prosperity of folly, ignorance, and vice. (VII,117)

Peregrine Pickle, therefore, is a novel of "practical satire" in which we see the satirist in action, so that the progress of the hero is keyed to the type of satire in which he is involved. In his boyhood Peregrine's pranks, although they are satirical, in Smollett's sense of the word, nevertheless serve mainly to gratify his own sense of humour. These episodes correspond in feeling to the times when Roderick wreaks his personal revenge on his enemies, and, with Peregrine, culminate in the schoolboys' revolt that ends in his public whipping, a disgrace which "had a very sensible effect upon the mind of Peregrine, who, having by this time passed the fourteenth year of his age, began to adopt the pride and sentiments of a man" (IV,115). Immediately afterwards he meets Emilia, and his career as a satirist is interrupted until he begins the Grand Tour. In Paris he meets Pallet and the Physician whose idiosyncracies keep him amused for the bulk of the second volume.

At times the antics of this pair of clowns are sufficiently amusing in themselves, but Peregrine is always prepared to employ his "practical satire" in order to heighten the ridicule. Thus he persuades Pallet to attend the ball dressed as a woman. He encourages the Physician in his fatuous attempt to emulate the Banquet of the Ancients, an episode reminiscent of Trimalchio's feast in The Satyricon, which is itself a satire of this type of entertainment. Peregrine also foments the duel between Pallet and the Physician in order to delight in the exposure of their cowardice. In this type of incident Smollett develops the technique of incorporating the satire of ridicule into the action of the novel. In Roderick Random Roderick had poked fun at Captain Weazel by arranging for the public exposure of his braggadocio. Peregrine's jokes enable him and the reader to laugh at the exposure of human folly.

But Peregrine is always liable to use his satirical talents as a means of gratifying his own selfishness rather than for the public exposure of folly. In his boyhood this tendency had been excusable because of his immaturity, but in manhood it becomes symptomatic of his corruption by the world. His first meeting with the Hornbecks at Calais is sufficient to show up Mrs. Hornbeck as an oyster-wench posing as the respectable lady of fashion, but her pretension then becomes Peregrine's excuse for seducing her, and there is a suggestion that he is also punishing Mr. Hornbeck for his folly in being deceived into marrying her. When Hornbeck tries to retaliate for the loss of his wife, Peregrine ponders whether he should punish Hornbeck's lack of courage, and is condemned by the narrator for his decision:

He then deliberated with himself whether or not he should retort the purpose upon his adversary; but when he considered that Hornbeck was not the aggressor, and made that unhappy husband's case his own, he could not help acquitting his intention of revenge, though, in his opinion, it ought to have been executed in a more honourable manner; and therefore he determined to chastise him for his want of spirit. Nothing surely can be more insolent and unjust than this determination, which induced him to punish a person for his want of courage to redress the injury and peace; and yet this barbarity of decision is authorized by the opinion and practice of mankind. (II,176)

On other occasions Peregrine is able to combine the public service contributed by the satirist in punishing foolish and evil characters with his own propensity to delight in the infliction of the punishment itself. His quarrel with the mousquetaire at the Paris theatre is resolved when Peregrine finds him in bed with Peregrine's mistress. The mousquetaire is punished and made to look ridiculous by his naked flight through the bedroom window, and by the beating he receives from Pipes stationed in the street below. But Peregrine also makes the incident contribute to his personal advantage by using the mousquetaire as an excuse to discard the mistress whom he no longer favoured. Peregrine's process of degeneration during the Grand Tour is reflected in his jokes which become increasingly the tools with which he satisfies his own selfish ends and promotes his own career of profligacy, culminating in the tasteless episode of his pursuit of Amanda.

However, Peregrine is always described as the "professed enemy to all oppression" (V,36), and his role as the scourge of society really begins in his alliance with Godfrey Gauntlet in their exploits at Bath. Together they defeat a whole "Company of Sharpers" and "practise a pleasant Project of Revenge upon the Physicians of the Place" (II,41), two schemes by which the gamblers and physicians are hooked by their

own avarice. Later with Cadwallader, Peregrine perpetrates the fortune-telling project which serves, not only to expose the superstitious beliefs of the beau monde, but also to punish some of their clients by turning their vices against them. Peregrine and Cadwallader set themselves up as reformers of society, although their motives are hardly altruistic. Peregrine derives amusement from the jokes themselves, while Cadwallader seems determined to take a perverse delight in the contemplation of the vice and folly of mankind. Cadwallader, in fact, is constantly described as "the misanthropist" whose life of misfortune has produced this pessimistic outlook on the world. Imprisoned in the Bastille he rules over a community of spiders distributing "rewards and punishments to each, according to his deserts" until "his natural disposition one day prevailing, [he] wreaked the fury of [his] indignation upon the innocent subjects and in a twinkling destroyed the whole race" (VI,11). This is a vivid image of the extreme position of the satirist at work, but Peregrine is not allowed to take such a nihilistic view of mankind. Cadwallader serves as a warning of what he could become if he loses the essential goodness of his character, his warmth and compassion, and Peregrine adopts a more hopeful position towards mankind:

Yet though he extended his generosity and compassion to the humble and needy, he never let slip one opportunity of mortifying villainy and arrogance. Had the executive power of the legislature been vested in him, he would have doubtless devised strange species of punishment for all offenders against humanity and decorum; but, restricted as he was, he employed his invention in subjecting them to the ridicule and contempt of their fellow-subjects. (VII,3)

No matter to what extent Peregrine is corrupted by his immersion in the beau monde, he always retains some sympathy and sensibility for

the needs of others. His benevolence towards the impoverished gentlewoman brings him into contact with the Lady of Quality (in reality, Lady Vane), whose Memoirs demonstrate her own sensibility and defiance of the conventions of society. In prison he shows concern for M_____ (in reality MacKercher), whose account of the Annesley case is another demonstration of human goodness in conflict with a corrupt society.

Peregrine's behaviour throughout the novel swings between the extremes of nobility and gentility on one side, and pride and vanity on the other. His satiric castigation of the evil of the world may be seen as an attempt, albeit a not entirely successful one, to reconcile two aspects of his personality. The violent switching from one extreme to another is reflected by the type of satire employed in the construction of the novel. We have already noticed the comparative lack of the satiric mode which employs the hero as the detached observer of mankind. Instead there is a wealth of "practical satire" in which the hero punishes evil-doers, while his satiric ridicule of foolish characters -- Mr. Jolter, Keystick, Mrs. Grizzle, Pallet and the Physician -- reaches greater heights of exaggerated caricature.

An examination of the satiric modes in the novel also allows us to discern some development in the portrayals of Trunnion and his wife, which show some movement across the spectrum from satiric ridicule towards becoming comic figures. At first Mrs. Grizzle is grossly caricatured; as a character she bears as much resemblance to a human being as one of Rowlandson's or Cruikshank's cartoon-like illustrations of Smollett's characters resemble a photographic likeness. Peregrine's

boyhood jokes punish her weakness; her brandy-tippling nearly becomes her death when Peregrine adds julap to her bottle. However, her shrewishness becomes much less evident in the later chapters, and by the time of Trunnion's death she has become quite a sympathetic figure. This type of development is even more noticeable in the case of Trunnion. At first two sides of his character are emphasized: his foolish prejudices and superstition which are the occasion of Peregrine's jokes, and his amusing naval dialect and customs. At first he is the satiric victim, but when he has been purged of some of his more ridiculous tendencies, we are left with the humour of his journey to his wedding, or his ride to the hounds, incidents in which the humour is only very slightly tinged with a condescending ridicule, so that he becomes an amusing oddity. Yet his dealings with Peregrine and with the staff of the Garrison give depth to his character by revealing the benevolent heart beneath the clown-like exterior. Trunnion is Smollett's first attempt at creating what Preston terms "the benevolent misanthrope type", a type which receives its finest expression in Matthew Bramble.¹⁶ In spite of his clownish aspects Trunnion is redeemed by his other qualities so that he develops into a likable and believable figure. This humanizing of the satiric victim culminates in Trunnion's death-bed scene, which has been compared with the death of Falstaff, and in which Trunnion finally transcends the border where satire merges into comedy to become a true comic character.¹⁷

Peregrine Pickle exhibits the same modes of satire as Roderick Random but in different proportions. There is more emphasis on satire

as the action of the hero and less on satire as the observation of the hero. The difference between the two novels is a question of the focus of attention. Roderick Random becomes a satire when Smollett shows how Roderick perceives the world of vice and folly. Roderick, in fact, becomes the distorting lens of the satiric vision which exaggerates the faults of human society. The novel is, as Smollett intended it to be, a satire on mankind; its weakness is the failure of the hero to be adequately involved in the world which he perceives. Peregrine Pickle, on the other hand, is a novel about satire because it is concerned with the satirical actions of its satirist-hero. Structurally it is a more successful novel, and Putney has shown how its multitude of incidents fit into a well-conceived plan.¹⁸ Nevertheless the problem of the unsympathetic hero, one of the common objections to Roderick Random, is compounded in Peregrine Pickle, because the satiric persona of the hero is the focus of the reader's attention. The problem of uniting romance with satire remains. It is the difficulty of dramatizing satiric action without the hero-satirist losing the sympathy of the reader. In Smollett's next two novels we shall see two more attempts to overcome the difficulty inherent in this type of novel.

CHAPTER III

THE KNAVE AND THE KNIGHT

In his first two novels Smollett was unable to create a sympathetic hero. The qualities of the hero-satirist (in Smollett's view) -- his vindictiveness, indignation, and scorn for the world -- tend to antagonize the reader. Roderick and Peregrine, like the Poet of Advice and Reproof, lack the amiability that would make us like them, even though we may approve of their moral fervour. In order to introduce "entertaining and universally improving" satire into "an interesting story", the intention stated in the Preface to Roderick Random (I,xxxix), Smollett created heroes whose experience of the world turns them into fashionable malcontents. By the time their reversals of fortune reduce them to poverty and imprisonment, few readers will be heartbroken at their disgrace or elated by their subsequent salvation. Whether Smollett had learned this lesson, or whether he was influenced by the success of Jonathan Wild, his next novel shows him putting about on another tack in his efforts to overcome the difficulty.

In Ferdinand, the central figure of Count Fathom, Smollett deliberately sets out to create an anti-hero whose vicious and repugnant behaviour would make him "the object of our detestation and abhorrence" (VIII,3). The idea of having a rogue for a hero belongs, of course, to the picaresque tradition. The satiric possibilities of the thief who exposes the hypocrisy of his victims may be seen in Rifle's account

of a stage-coach hold-up in Roderick Random (I,46). His robbing of the Quaker evokes a very un-Quakerlike wrath from the victim, an incident that is reminiscent of Gil Blas's robbery of the Friar.¹ However, such is Gil Blas's aura of native innocence that his participation in crime never arouses the reader's condemnation of him, just as Gil Blas himself refrains from judging the folly and wickedness that he witnesses. Gil Blas shows the comic view of life, as Smollett realizes when he writes in his Preface that "Monsieur Le Sage . . . has described the knavery and foibles of life, with infinite humour and sagacity" (I,xli). But Smollett adopts the moral view of literature in which vice must always disgust the reader, and those who indulge in vice must not be shown at all sympathetically. Whereas the "disgraces of Gil Blas . . . excite mirth", Smollett wishes to arouse "that generous indignation which ought to animate the reader against the sordid and vicious disposition of the world" (I,xli). If Ferdinand is to be a rogue and a criminal he must not be a likable one, and Smollett defends his choice of hero in the Prefatory Address to Count Fathom:

Let me not, therefore, be condemned for having chosen my principal character from the purlieus of treachery and fraud, when I declare my purpose is to set him up as a beacon for the benefit of the unexperienced and unwary, who, from the perusal of these memoirs, may learn to avoid the manifold snares with which they are continually surrounded in the paths of life; while those who hesitate on the brink of iniquity may be terrified from plunging into that irremediable gulf, by surveying the deplorable fate of Ferdinand Count Fathom. (VIII,4)

As a villainous anti-hero, Ferdinand, therefore, is the subject of a moral lesson. Unlike Roderick and Peregrine he is the scene of the novel to a large extent and in this sense he may be regarded as the object of the author's satire. In tracing Ferdinand's life's story Smollett is

revealing his true character, which remains hidden from most of his victims. Ferdinand's villainy depends, in fact, on his ability to counterfeit virtue; his victims are fooled into thinking the best of him, sometimes even after they have been rooked. His patron, the old Count Melvil, is deceived by Ferdinand's expressions of sorrow and looks "upon the boy as a prodigy of natural affection" (VIII,21), while Ferdinand's true character is revealed to the reader by the episode of his copying the young Melvil's school work. Typically it is Melvil who gets the blame for Ferdinand's misdeed, and incurs the Count's wrath as well as the schoolmaster's punishment, yet bears no grudge against the real offender but looks "upon the poor boy as the innocent cause of his disgrace" (VIII,28). Throughout the novel this trait of Ferdinand's is reiterated: in his amorous adventures with the jeweller's wife and daughter, Ferdinand is able to "turn to account those ingratiating qualifications he inherited from nature" (VIII,84); in his robbery and seduction of Elenor he mimicks "that compassion and benevolence which his heart had never felt" (VIII,197); his seduction of Celinda is an incident that "conveys a true Idea of his Gratitude and Honour" (VIII,219). Ferdinand is the complete hypocrite, able to captivate his acquaintances while his own heart remains obdurate to all pity and compassion:

The sole study, or at least the chief aim of Ferdinand, was to make himself necessary and agreeable to those on whom his dependence was placed. His talent was in this particular suited to his inclination; he seemed to have inherited it from his mother's womb; and, without doubt, would have raised upon it a most admirable superstructure of fortune and applause, had not it been inseparably yoked with a most insidious principle of self-love, that grew up with him from the cradle, and left no room in his heart for the least particle of social virtue. This last, however, he knew so well how to counterfeit, by means of a

large share of ductility and dissimulation, that, surely, he was calculated by nature to dupe even the most-cautious, and gratify his appetites, by levying contributions on all mankind. (VIII,25)

The central satiric mode of this novel is the exposure of vice to the public gaze; Smollett shows the reader the true Ferdinand that lies beneath the hypocritical façade of a pleasant exterior. This means that the principal satirist in the novel is Smollett himself as the narrator of the action; consequently this novel contains a certain amount of impersonal comment on the part of the narrator, who at times achieves some delicious irony in his use of straight-faced, tongue-in-cheek understatement to describe the rascally dealings of Ferdinand and his mother. Smollett adopts a position of remote detachment from which to observe human folly and vice, a method which arouses the somewhat bitter amusement so characteristic of satire. It is the central satiric mode of Smollett's spectrum, and one which is almost completely lacking in Peregrine Pickle, a novel that swings more violently between the extremes of punishment and ridicule, but which we have already noticed in Roderick's description of the siege of Carthage. Smollett's irony is especially evident in the opening chapters dealing with Ferdinand's birth and his mother's occupation:

The troops were no sooner employed in the pursuit, than she began to traverse the field of battle with a poignard and a bag, in order to consult her own interest, annoy the foe, and exercise her humanity at the same time. In short, she had, with amazing prowess, delivered some fifty or threescore disabled Mussulmen of the pain under which they groaned, and made a comfortable booty of the spoils of the slain, when her eyes were attracted by the rich attire of an Imperial officer, who lay bleeding on the plain, to all appearance in the agonies of death.

She could not in her heart refuse that favour to a friend and Christian she had so compassionately bestowed upon so many enemies and infidels, and therefore drew near with the sovereign remedy, which she had already administered with such success. (VIII,14)

One of the recurring targets in this novel, and indeed in all of Smollett's fiction, is the medical profession with its violent remedies and excessive use of drugs, more to benefit the apothecary's trade than to relieve the patient.² When Ferdinand feigns sickness he lets himself in for the whole treatment:

The physician, like a true graduate, had an eye to the apothecary in his prescriptions; and such was the concern and scrupulous care with which our hero was attended, that the orders of the faculty were performed with the utmost punctuality. He was blooded, vomited, purged, and blistered, in the usual forms (for the physicians of Hungary are generally as well skilled in the arts of their occupation as any other leeches under the sun), and swallowed a whole dispensary of bolusses, draughts, and apozems, by which means he became fairly delirious in three days, and so untractable, that he could be no longer managed according to rule; otherwise, in all likelihood, the world would never have enjoyed the benefit of these adventures. (VIII,34)³

Ferdinand's sufferings, like Roderick's, serve to illustrate the corruption that pervades certain social institutions. Besides the medical profession, which is later examined more thoroughly through Ferdinand's own medical practice, Smollett also considers gamblers (VIII,89), money-lenders (IX,64), working-class poetasters (VIII,93), and gives a great deal of attention to the Law, when the bailiff and the solicitor resolve to "fleece him [Ferdinand] to the utmost of their power" (VIII,252). The stupid squire-magistrate detains him on suspicion of being the Young Pretender, and law practice being what it was, Ferdinand's ruin is as much the result of his law-suits as of his follies that occasion them:

His counsel behaved like men of consummate abilities in their profession; they exerted themselves with equal industry, eloquence, and erudition, in their endeavours to perplex the truth, browbeat the evidence, puzzle the judge, and mislead the jury; but the defendant found himself woefully disappointed in the deposition of Trapwell's journeyman, whom the solicitor pretended to have converted to his interest. (VIII,245)

This type of exposure is facilitated by Ferdinand's position in

the story which brings him as a stranger to the shores of England, where he finds himself "a monument of that disregard and contempt which a stranger never fails to meet with from the inhabitants of this island" (VIII,184). He thus functions as the ingenuous observer whose eyes are opened by the action of the novel, and also by the teaching of his partner in crime, Ratchcali, who enlarges on the typical Englishman's xenophobia:

They inherit from their fathers an unreasonable prejudice against all nations under the sun; and when an Englishman happens to quarrel with a stranger, the first term of reproach he uses is the name of his antagonist's country, characterized by some opprobrious epithet. (VIII,202)

While most of these observations are derogatory of English life and manners, nevertheless Ferdinand is allowed to perceive some superiority in the affluence of his adopted country, but even this following comment ends on an ambiguous note:

On the road, he feasted his eyesight with the verdant hills covered with flocks of sheep, the fruitful vales parcelled out into cultivated enclosures; the very cattle seemed to profit by the wealth of their masters, being large, sturdy, and sleek, and every peasant breathed the insolence of liberty and independence. (VIII,199)

In this type of satire, the character of Ferdinand is subservient to the follies and vices which are illustrated for his benefit, but at times Smollett even dispenses with this device altogether in order to comment directly upon the foibles of mankind. When Ferdinand meets a French abbé in the Paris ordinary, Smollett takes the opportunity to stigmatize a whole section of the community:

In a word, the abbés are a set of people that bear a strong analogy to the templars in London. Fools of each fabric, sharpers of all sorts, and dunces of every degree, profess themselves of both orders. The templar is, generally speaking, a prig, so is the abbé: both are distinguished by an air of petulance and self-conceit, which holds a middle rank betwixt

the insolence of a first-rate buck and the learned pride of a supercilious pedant. (VIII,126)

Yet Smollett, on one of the rare occasions in his novels when the "I" of the narrator refers directly to the novelist, is careful to allow the worthy individual to escape the stigma attached to his colleagues:

Yet I would not have it thought that my description includes every individual of these societies . . . The worthy sons of every community shall always be sacred from my censure and ridicule; and, while I can laugh at the folly of particular members, I can still honour and revere the institution. (VIII,126)

Apart from his function as a spectator of society, Ferdinand is also involved in the action of the novel, and making him the dupe of other rogues has several effects. In one sense, Smollett the narrator is using other rascals in order to punish his villain-hero, and so creates some ironic situations in which Ferdinand is trapped by his own iniquity. The device is also successful in showing more varieties of fraud and cheating under disguises which fool even Ferdinand. This has the effect of showing the darker side of human behaviour in a more general view than it appears merely in Ferdinand's machinations. The novel becomes more effective as a satire on mankind when evil is dispersed around Ferdinand instead of being concentrated in the one figure.

As a man who preys upon human weakness Ferdinand finds little to laugh at in his contemplation of humanity and the novel lacks the wealth of humorous characters and incidents that abound in Peregrine Pickle. Some amusement is derived from the antics of the abbé and his friends in the Paris bagnio, and Ferdinand meets another set of amusing oddities when he suffers his first imprisonment. Captain Minikin, King Theodore,

Major Macleaver, Sir Mungo Barebones and the French chevalier, these "originals" as Smollett calls them, have the strangeness of appearance and behaviour to put them on a par with Captain Weazel, or Pallett and the Physician, yet their idiosyncracies receive only passing treatment.⁴ Their individual histories are opportunities to reveal the ingratitude of government towards those who serve it, and this prison society, like others in Smollett's novels, is depicted as a "microcosm" of the wide world. The war-games conducted by the King and Macleaver are reminiscent of the activities of Sterne's Uncle Toby, and the duel, in which the contestants smoke asafoetida, reveals Ferdinand in the jocular, but uncharacteristic, mood of a Peregrine. Altogether this interlude serves as a transition between the two volumes of the novel. As a microcosm of high society the prison becomes a parody of the beau monde, in which Ferdinand pursues his adventures during the first volume until his licentiousness brings about his first downfall. The second volume sees Ferdinand rescued by the unsuspecting Melvil to continue his nefarious activities among the middle classes.

Most of the satire we have considered so far in respect of Count Fathom has been extraneous to the story of Ferdinand's rise and fall; whether the result of Ferdinand's or the narrator's perception, this type of satire is an embellishment to the plot rather than an intrinsic part of the action. Where Ferdinand does serve as the tool of satire is in his role of the scoundrel able to play upon the weaknesses of mankind in order to achieve his ends. Most of Ferdinand's victories, besides showing his own vicious nature, also serve to

illustrate the foibles and weaknesses of his victim. His seduction of the jeweller's wife and daughter is possible because "he catered for the gratification of their ruling appetites" (VIII,72), while he is successful with Elenor because she is "an innocent, unsuspecting country damsel, flushed with the warmth of youth, and an utter stranger to the ways of life" (VIII,194). Similarly Ferdinand's use of the Aeolian harp and all the trappings of 'Gothic' horror plays upon Celinda's "remarkable spirit of credulity and superstitious fear, which had been cherished by the conversation of her schoolfellows" (VIII,221), a weakness, somewhat like Miss Williams' passion for romantic novels which in Roderick Random led to her downfall. Untutored reading also gives the clergyman's wife a false sense of security and is the means by which Ferdinand, who "perceived her weak side" (IX,119), is enabled to accomplish his design upon her. Ferdinand also attempts to seduce Monimia, but in this case he has no weakness to help him, and the heroine's virtue is sufficient to withstand his attack upon her honour.

In both his amorous and financial ventures Ferdinand uses his knowledge of human nature to achieve his purpose. It is said that he "studied mankind with incredible diligence, and knew perfectly well how far he could depend on the passions and foibles of human nature" (VIII,180). In the Paris coffee-house "he in a moment saw through all the characters of the party, and adapted himself to the humour of each individual" (VIII,125). Ferdinand's dupes are therefore the victims of the author's satire, and the vulnerability of English society to Ferdinand's talent becomes a comment on the worthiness of its members:

He had in fancy often enjoyed a prospect of England, not only as his native country, to which, like a true citizen, he longed to be united, but also as the land of promise, flowing with milk and honey, and abounding with subjects on which he knew his talents would be properly exercised. (VIII,106)

Ferdinand's expectations of finding English gulls seem about to be fulfilled when he meets Sir Stentor Stiles, another of Smollett's "originals", and a successor to the squires of the previous novels. As a caricature of the foolish traveller he seems a fit subject to be ridiculed and punished by Ferdinand's trickery. However, Smollett complicates the effect of this incident by having him defeat Ferdinand and so reveals the artful sharper hiding beneath the sham of the aristocratic buffoon. Moreover, Ferdinand is punished with his own weapons, just as later he is gulled into seducing Trapwell's wife, and his pursuit of Miss Biddy and his marriage to Sarah Muddy rebound against him to bring about his downfall. In such episodes Smollett achieves a double effect in his satire when the incident serves to expose both Ferdinand's villainy and the deception practised by his intended victims, although making Ferdinand the dupe does give him a certain pathos in his ignominious defeats, which tends to detract from Smollett's moral aim of setting him up as a hated monster of vice and depravity.

As a master of disguise and dissimulation Ferdinand is a symbol of the hypocrisy of English life, to the extent where he becomes himself "the nucleus or kernel of the beau monde" (VIII,231). Ratchcali, introducing him to London, notes that "this metropolis is a vast masquerade, in which a man of stratagem may wear a thousand different disguises, without danger of detection" (VIII,202), and catalogues the

various shams who compose polite society. The confidence tricks of the two accomplices, employing cheap jewels and fake antiques, serve to expose the pretensions of that society. As far as the novel deals with Ferdinand's activities it portrays a view of life very similar to Ferdinand's:

He had formerly imagined, but was now fully persuaded, that the sons of men preyed upon one another, and such was the end and condition of their being. Among the principal figures of life, he observed few or no characters that did not bear a strong analogy to the savage tyrants of the wood. One resembled a tiger in fury and rapaciousness; a second prowled about like an hungry wolf, seeking whom he might devour; a third acted the part of a jackal, in beating the bush for game to his voracious employer; and the fourth imitated the wily fox, in practising a thousand crafty ambuscades for the destruction of the ignorant and unwary. (VIII,54)

This image of the human jungle of vice and selfishness might well be called the satirical world-view. Count Fathom contains much of Smollett's most effective satire, and had Smollett been content to let the reader make his own inference from this panorama of human depravity, it might have been a much more enjoyable novel. But Ferdinand is only one aspect of the total work; since Smollett is unwilling to leave his reader with a picture of unrelieved gloom, he must "raise up a virtuous character, in opposition to the adventurer, with a view to amuse the fancy, engage the affection, and form a striking contrast which might heighten the expression, and give a relief to the moral of the whole" (VIII,4). Smollett, it seems, distrusted his own ability to interest the reader in the story of a complete scoundrel, and Coleridge is one critic who would agree with him. In his discussion of Volpone Coleridge refers to Count Fathom as a further example of the impossibility of maintaining interest in an unpleasant character:

This admirable, indeed, but yet more wonderful than admirable, play is from the fertility and vigor of invention, character, language, and sentiment the strongest proof how impossible it is to keep up any pleasurable interest in a tale in which there is no goodness of heart in any of the prominent characters. After the third act, this play becomes not a dead, but a painful, weight on the feelings. F. C. Fathom and Zeluco are instances of the same truth.⁵

Smollett, it would seem, subscribed to the same view. He could not let a 'bad' character like Ferdinand dominate the novel, even though the ineffectiveness of much of Ferdinand's roguery, the failures which lead to his downfall, might be seen to constitute a sufficiently moral lesson. Instead Ferdinand must be tortured by poverty, sickness and despair until he repents of his evil; then he is rescued and set on the road to becoming a respectable apothecary, to reappear, still contrite at heart, as a heroic rescuer in Humphry Clinker (XI,223), when he receives final forgiveness from his victims. To compensate Ferdinand's lack of goodness of heart through most of the novel, Smollett creates Renaldo as a receptacle for all the virtues missing in Ferdinand. Around Renaldo, Smollett builds the mystery and melodrama of Monimia and her father, the Noble Castilian. But these 'good' characters, because they fail to show any real semblance of humanity, only detract from the satirical view of mankind so clearly drawn in Ferdinand's story. The stretching of coincidence for the purposes of this plot destroys any claim the novel might have to be realistic. Count Fathom shows very clearly where lies the strength of Smollett's talent as a novelist; the first of the two volumes of this novel contains some very entertaining satire involving the irony of Ferdinand's failures, but when Smollett gets involved in the conventions of the sentimental plot the novel becomes

wearisome reading.

In Count Fathom the satirical view of mankind is Ferdinand's justification for dedicating himself to a life of roguery. In Peregrine Pickle satirical action is the result of a hereditary trait, the hero's inclination towards practical joking. In Roderick Random the satirical outlook is the orphan's defence against a hostile world. In all three novels the satirical position is shown as a dislocation from the desired norm. All three novels end with their heroes reconciled to their places in society and abandoning their satiric roles. In all three novels satire, when it is the preoccupation of the protagonist, fulfils a selfish purpose, because Smollett was never successful in making his heroes appear to act from altruistic motives, while in Count Fathom Smollett appears to have given up the attempt. Yet satire, as a weapon against the foolishness, heartlessness and cruelty of society, is ostensibly a noble endeavour. In Sir Launcelot Greaves Smollett attempts to raise the satiric persona above the petty back-biting of personal feuds and fortune-seeking, to invest the role with respect and dignity by giving it the significance of the knightly quest. When Launcelot, defending himself from the ridicule of Ferret, states the aim of his quest, the position he adopts is very close to that of the traditional satirist:

"I do purpose," said the youth, eyeing him with a look of ineffable contempt, "to act as a coadjutator to the law, and even to remedy evils which the law cannot reach; to detect fraud and treason, abase insolence, mortify pride, discourage slander, disgrace immodesty, and stigmatise ingratitude, but the infamous part of a thief-catcher's character I disclaim." (X,18)

Launcelot's knight errantry may be seen as the dramatization of

satire in action, like the "practical satire" of Peregrine but without the latter's selfish motives. The armour and other trappings of chivalry recall Don Quixote, and Ferret comments that "what was a humorous romance and well-timed satire in Spain near two hundred years ago, will make but a sorry jest, and appear equally insipid and absurd when really acted from affectation, at this time of day, in a country like England" (X,16). The reader might well be inclined to agree with Ferret, but Smollett allows Launcelot a reasoned defence against this criticism, and Launcelot is not allowed to lose his dignity nor appear ridiculous, even in his debate with Crowe. Lawyer Clarke's narration of Launcelot's story shows Launcelot as the benevolent protector of his tenants, a somewhat hot-tempered youth, as "hasty as gunpowder" and bold enough to chastize Darnel for his insolence (X,37). His political defeat of Darnel is typical: first he destroys his arguments "with keen and spirited strokes of satire" (X,35); then his followers put Darnel's party to rout with their cudgels. The satiric metaphor is given dramatic rendering in the administration of beatings; the power of the word becomes the physical force of the cudgel and the lance.

Although Launcelot's armour is supposed to protect him in physical combat, nevertheless his real victories are achieved by peaceful means. His armour, therefore, is generally superfluous, except that it serves as a symbol of his knightly role. It leads other characters to question Launcelot's sanity, to which there are more than a dozen references in the course of the novel.⁶ Tom Clarke makes it clear that Launcelot's derangement is the result of his disappointment in his love for Aurelia,

following which he begins his vocation as knight-errant. Yet Launcelot always behaves with dignity and decorum so that his madness seems to be more of a mask than true insanity, a mask that, along with his suit of armour, he is quick to drop after his reconciliation with Aurelia. After the ridiculous joust with Sycamore and Dawdle, Launcelot warns them that another time they will have to deal with him "not in the character of a lunatic knight-errant, but as a plain English gentleman" (X,214). When he is falsely imprisoned in the private mad-house he "heartily repented of his knight-errantry, as a frolic which might have very serious consequences" (X,253).

Whether it is the result of madness or pretence, the role of knight-errant adopted by Launcelot is a temporary dislocation; Launcelot's outlook changes when his love is restored to him, and he goes to live in the country. In contrast Ferret, a successor to Cadwallader, is invariably characterized as a misanthrope, a cynic who looks "upon mankind to be in a state of nature; a truth, which Hobbes has stumbled upon by accident" (X,276). Although many of his carpings might be regarded as political satire, nevertheless such a permanently pessimistic view of human nature must destroy his happiness. Even though he is rewarded for his help in clearing up the complications of the plot, his misanthropy prevents him from enjoying the easy circumstances of a recluse. Since "he could not bear to see his fellow-creatures happy", he returns "to the metropolis where he knew there would always be food sufficient for the ravenous appetite of his spleen" (X,286). There is also Dick Distich, the mad poet-satirist whom Launcelot meets in Shackle's private asylum. Unlike

Launcelot he is truly insane, though he has a certain lucidity and is able to enlighten Launcelot with the truth about Shackle's enterprise. It becomes clear that Distich's malady is the result of his satirical outlook run riot. He is corroded by his satire, carried away by his hatred of his enemies, and so goes on inflicting punishment with his "keen iambics" (X,255), without regard to truth or justice. Launcelot contrasts Distich's satire with Pope's Dunciad to demonstrate his lack of integrity. Distich, like Peregrine in his worst moments, uses his satirical talent for selfish ends and takes delight in inflicting punishment without discrimination. The encounter emphasizes Launcelot's own altruism in his satirical quest to mete justice impartially, and to distribute rewards and punishments according to deserts. When Launcelot listens to the complaints of the hapless prisoners in the country gaol, the imagery of the passage implies a comparison with the Last Judgment.⁷

The best justification of Launcelot's quest is the success he has in exposing and punishing vice and folly. He uses his wealth and position to subdue Gobble, the dishonest magistrate, and to ridicule his pretentious wife. His fierce demeanour quells the boisterous haberdashers posing as army officers. His generosity and fair-dealing satisfy the farmers annoyed by their encounter with Crowe, and lead to the discomfiture of the litigious Farmer Pickle. After his rescue from Shackle's mad-house he resolves not only to punish Shackle by bringing him to law, but also to enquire into the situations of the other inmates.

In addition to this "practical satire" in the action of the novel,

there is also a good deal of incidental satire of the life of the country. Launcelot's harangue at the election rally achieves no practical results but does illustrate the false pretensions of the two candidates as well as the foolish bigotry of their supporting mobs. Crabshaw's misfortune to be treated by an apothecary is the occasion for some satirical comments on medicine, while Ferret's astrology not only exposes the superstitious beliefs of Crowe and Crabshaw, but may also be considered as a satire on fortune-telling generally. Launcelot's search for Aurelia takes him to a London prison, another "microcosm" of the world, where the misfortunes of the prisoners are brought to his, and to the reader's, attention.

In this novel Smollett is still trying to cope with the conventions of the sentimental plot in the abduction and rescue of Aurelia, and in the transformation of Dolly Cowslip into Miss Dorothea Greaves. As usual this is the least credible and least entertaining aspect of the novel, but Sir Launcelot Greaves also suffers from its basic conception of having a knight ride through the eighteenth-century countryside looking like Hamlet's ghost. His position is never really safe from the reader's scoff of disbelief, although Captain Crowe's emulation of his chivalry tends to divert the reader's ridicule by emphasizing the seriousness of Launcelot's intention. Moreover, Crabshaw, by acting as a scapegoat, suffers the brick-bats and mud-slinging of the mob's retaliation, and so preserves the dignity of Launcelot's position. The novel also incorporates some cutting criticism of English manners and institutions, but nevertheless is most successful in its greater emphasis on the

satirical caricature, a satirical mode responsible for creating a happier atmosphere and consequently neglected in Count Fathom where the emphasis is on man's cupidity.

The nautical language of Captain Crowe, like the lawyer's jargon of his nephew Tom, is an extension of the method used to create Bowling and the members of the Garrison. Although neither Crowe nor Clarke achieves the comic stature of Trunnion, their actions reveal some depths of character that make them rather more believable than the blatantly satiric caricatures of Weazel and Pallet. Dolly Cowslip is characterized by Smollett's fair imitation of north-country dialect, and her mis-spelled letter is a precursor of Tabitha Bramble's correspondence. Her misinterpretation of Tom Clarke's jargon is the occasion for some gentle humour; even in the early scenes her susceptibility to the advances of Clarke is leavened with some common-sense and discretion, while her devotion to Aurelia reveals another facet to her character. The most successful characterization is Crabshaw, Launcelot's Sancho Panza. He begins as a complete buffoon, and Smollett's description of his grotesque appearance recalls the picture of Mr. Crab in Roderick Random.⁸ Crabshaw's ill-tempered carping, having a kernel of common sense, provides the ideal foil to the lofty idealism of Launcelot; his attachment to his idiosyncratic horse, Gilbert, suggests an inner sensibility, making his service as Launcelot's squire a little more credible; the sufferings and beatings which he endures tend to give him an air of pathos, so that in this character we can discern Smollett's development in the portrayal of character from the satiric caricature of ridiculous fun towards the

comic figure of sympathetic acceptance. Crowe, Crabshaw and Clarke are treated with a slight note of condescension. They are in the scene to provide amusement with their idiosyncracies. Yet they are a long way from the figures of Weazel, Pallet and Smollett's squires, who are lashed with his devastating ridicule. Lawyer Clarke especially receives a more sympathetic treatment. At first his law jargon is the occasion for some mild humour, but in the course of the novel he develops as a figure of sanity and commonsense when the principals are carried away by their notions of chivalry. His knowledge of law is finally the means of rescuing Sir Launcelot, and the pairing of him with Dolly makes a worldly footnote to the romantic excesses of Launcelot's courtship.

Clarke and Dolly are good examples of how even some of the minor figures in this novel come to life and achieve an air of credibility lacking in most of Smollett's more ridiculous figures. As Smollett moves further from the centre of the satiric spectrum so his characters become more life-like. This is to be expected when we remember that the satiric view of man is essentially a biased, one-sided view emphasizing his foibles. As Smollett's characters become less the objects of ridicule so do they approach the world of comedy. Only Launcelot lacks the aura of worldliness, which is due to the basic conception of the novel. As a figure wholly virtuous Launcelot is as one-sided a figure as Pallet, and therefore fails to come to life. His altruism is believable and commendable, but his mental derangement as the result of unrequited love is difficult to accept. As a character he suffers from Smollett's inability to portray convincingly any depth of emotion in

the formal declarations which constitute love-making between hero and heroine. In the sense that Launcelot functions as the hero-satirist Smollett has overcome the problem of the unsympathetic protagonist only by making him a completely incredible figure. It remains to show how Smollett finally solves the problem in his last novel Humphry Clinker.

CHAPTER IV

THE BENEVOLENT SATIRIST

Smollett's last novel Humphry Clinker takes the form of a travelbook using the device of a pseudo-correspondence, for which Smollett had several models. Smollett's imaginary Mr. Davis refers to seven collections of "letters upon travels" (XI,3).¹ Except for the concluding letters in which he ties up all the loose ends in a typical sentimental ending, Smollett carefully date-lines his letters in order to make his novel seem to be the authentic record of an actual journey. Smollett, of course, had already used the technique for his own Travels Through France and Italy a few years previously, when he had enlivened the objective description of the sight-seeing tourist with the subjective reactions of the idiosyncratic traveller, the Smelfungus of Sterne's comment. In Humphry Clinker Smollett, probably influenced by Anstey's New Bath Guide, complicates the effect of this technique by creating five letter-writing personae.² All five observers are involved in the scenes and incidents which they witness. Besides observing the action themselves, they are also portrayed in the letters of their companions. Thus the letter-writers develop as characters in two ways: their outward actions are described and judged in the letters of their fellow travellers, while their own letters reveal, often unconsciously, their inner feelings and motivation. The multiplicity of viewpoint in the novel is the source of much of the novel's humorous irony, its subtle insights

into its characters, and its composite view of the society through which they journey.

The principal letter-writer is Matthew Bramble, the head of the family and the leader of the travel-group.³ He is a valetudinarian and an introverted invalid, sometimes described as a hypochondriac, and his concern for his health shows the effect which the world has on him. Smollett used this inter-relationship between physical health and mental outlook in his earlier novels. Both Peregrine and Ferdinand waste away in illness when their misfortunes bring them to the nadir of disgrace; Roderick also suffers from a dangerous fever following his persecution by Oakum and Mackshane; Monimia's health ebbs away when Renaldo leaves her to the attentions of Ferdinand, while Renaldo nearly dies of despair when he hears the false report of Monimia's death. Even Sir Launcelot's madness is shown as a derangement resulting from his loss of Aurelia. In each case the illness serves to emphasize the wretchedness of the character's plight. With Matthew, however, his preoccupation with his health continues throughout the book, and the rise and fall of his mental outlook is reflected in the fluctuations of his physical well-being:

I find my spirits and my health affect each other reciprocally -- that is to say, everything that discomposes my mind, produces a correspondent disorder in my body; and my bodily complaints are remarkably mitigated by those considerations that dissipate the clouds of mental chagrin. (XI,202)

The annoyances which harass Matthew arouse the typical response of a Smollett satirist when he expresses his bitter indignation at those of man's follies that affect him directly, and his scornful amusement in ridiculing the weaker and more ineffective manifestations of man's folly. When he is least involved in the scene which he describes, Matthew acts

as a relatively impartial observer decrying the vanity of the world with a tone of sardonic regret. This satiric aspect of Matthew's character is the one first noticed by Jerry when he writes that Matthew's little distresses "provoke him to let fly the shafts of his satire, keen and penetrating as the arrows of Teucer" (XI,35). At Bath, Matthew's physical complaints, "the flying pains in the stomach and head", do not prevent him frequenting "the pump, the rooms, and the coffee-houses, where he picks up continual food for ridicule and satire" (XI,41). Jerry labels his uncle "an odd kind of humourist" (XI,9), an epithet also used of Peregrine and Launcelot, but in Matthew's case this propensity is attributed to the fact that "his being tortured by his gout may have soured his temper" (XI,9).

Matthew's satirical outlook is illustrated by his encounter at Clifton Hot Well with Dr. L---n, "a strange fantastical oddity . . . who harangues every day in the pump-room, as if he was hired to give lectures on all subjects whatsoever" (XI,29). In his letter to Dr. Lewis, Matthew is mainly concerned with refuting the strange doctor's diagnosis of his complaint. Jerry's letter, however, describing the incident in more detail, emphasizes its humorous aspects. Jerry quotes the doctor at great length when this ridiculous original confesses in public that he has patronized a prostitute in order to test the efficacy of his cure for venereal disease. Jerry notes, "Matthew could not help smiling at this ridiculous confession; and, I suppose, with a view to punish this original, told him there was a wart upon his nose, that looked a little suspicious" (XI,24). Matthew's remark makes the doctor doubt whether he

might not have caught the disease. Jery is asked to test the softness of the doctor's nose, which he does quite roughly, and the doctor's suffering makes Matthew burst out laughing for the first time since Jery had met him. Matthew's punishment has its full effect when the doctor tries to cure the wart but makes "it spread in such a manner as to produce a considerable inflammation, attended with an enormous swelling; so that, when he next appeared his whole face was overshadowed by this tremendous nozzle" (XI,24).

This incident has all the elements of Smollett's conception of humorous satire: the victim is exposed to the public gaze in his foolishness; he is punished physically in front of an audience by having his nose pulled; his own folly leads to a compounding of the punishment when his incompetence as a doctor makes his nose worse; the fool's discomfiture results in the satirist's pleasure. But the satirist being Matthew, there is a further effect when his successes are related to his health, and the satiric incident seems to purge him of both his sickness and its attendant irritability, which is the hallmark of the satiric persona in Smollett's poems and novels. Lydia notices that Matthew's chastisement of the negro hornplayers and his defiance of their master result in an improvement in both his health and temper:

To be sure, the gout had got into his head, as my aunt observed; but, I believe, his passion drove it away, for he has been remarkably well ever since. It is a thousand pities he should ever be troubled with that ugly distemper; for, when he is free from pain, he is the best tempered man upon earth; so gentle, so generous, so charitable, that everybody loves him. (XI,51)

Matthew takes a satirist's view of the world. The sickness that he perceives in mankind and in human institutions is reflected in the

sickness of his own body, and the abundance of disease imagery in the novel is important in suggesting the corruption that eats away at the fabric of established society. Matthew strikes the keynote for this type of criticism in his remarks on the contamination of the public baths and drinking water, the fetid air from the stinking river mud, and the water-basin "defiled with dead dogs, cats, rats, and every species of nastiness, which the rascally populace may throw into it from mere wantonness and brutality" (XI,60). Thus man's follies are inflicted on the senses of the individual. Matthew extends this view with his hypercritical remarks on the architecture and social life of Bath, described as "the nauseous stew of corruption" (XI,83), while the bustling mobs make London a "vile ferment of stupidity and corruption" (XI,115). He takes his nephew to the Duke of N---'s levee "that he may see, and learn to avoid the scene; for . . . an English gentleman never appears to such disadvantage, as at the levee of a minister" (XI,129). In this way Matthew functions as the critical observer who exposes, for the benefit of both his nephew and his correspondent, the follies and vices of mankind.

Matthew takes a pessimistic view of human nature, expecting to find faults rather than virtues. At first Jerry calls him "a complete Cynic" (XI,20), and Matthew writes, "My misanthropy increases every day. The longer I live, I find the folly and the fraud of mankind grow more and more intolerable" (XI,60). Neither is Matthew surprised that G. H--- should declare with tears in his eyes that "he had never, in the whole course of his life, found above three or four whom he could call

thoroughly honest" (XI,100). Matthew is mortified or saddened by such an observation but cannot contradict it. His response to the "Battle of the Amazons" engineered by Jack Holder distinguishes Matthew from Quin. When the fashionable tea-drinking disintegrates into an unruly brawl among the ladies, Quin's reaction is to laugh at this exposure of human pretension, but Matthew is subdued because "his delicacy was hurt" (XI,67).

Matthew's reluctance to gloat over the panorama of human folly also distinguishes him from Smollett's previous hero-satirists, and helps to make him a sympathetic figure. Even his first letter to Dr. Lewis reveals his stealthy charity; his benevolence towards his tenants is kept secret even from the members of his family. One of the effects of his correspondence with Dr. Lewis is to establish Brambleton Hall as a haven of compassion and generosity in contrast to the world of indifference and rascality which Matthew is presently examining. His beneficence towards the widow of the half-pay officer with the consumptive child is spied upon by Jerry, who is reduced to tears by the pathos of the incident which also serves to expose Tabitha's greed and heartlessness. Jerry consequently modifies his opinion of Matthew, suggesting that he only "affects misanthropy, in order to conceal the sensibility of a heart which is tender even to a degree of weakness" (XI,35). Of course, the fact that Matthew feels bound to conceal his benevolence is itself a comment on the mores of that society, a fact that becomes more apparent when Jerry also feels inclined to help the widow, but was "afraid of being detected in a weakness that might entail the ridicule of the company" (XI,28). Matthew, therefore, is the reluctant satirist, a position which

he adopts in self-defence against the evils of human society. The experience of old age has bared his eyes to the follies of the world, while his life of wholesome comfort and philanthropy in his Welsh retreat has left him more susceptible to the depravity of mankind. The satirical responses of indignation (or spleen) and ridicule form the protective shell which is necessary to shield Matthew's sensibility from the harsh reality of an indifferent world:

If the morals of mankind have not contracted an extraordinary degree of depravity within these thirty years, then must I be infected with the common vice of old men, difficilis, querulus laudator temporis acti; or, which is more probable, the impetuous pursuits and avocation of youth have formerly hindered me from observing those rotten parts of human nature, which now appear so offensively to my observation.

We have been at court and 'change, and everywhere; and everywhere we find food for spleen and subject for ridicule. (XI,139)

Matthew's satirical outlook, like Peregrine's, Cadwallader's or Ferret's, is often equated with misanthropy, yet the action of the novel reveals a philanthropic side to his character. So, too, is another view of life revealed in the general construction of the novel. The obverse side of satire is panegyric; where the satirist criticizes destructively, the panegyrist praises unreservedly. Roderick, the young poet, was able to turn his talents either to praise or blame; Jerry's friend, the poet Dick Ivy, had first attempted to succeed in panegyric before turning to satire, where he could use his "talents for abuse" (XI,152). Even the Poet of Advice and Reproof could find room among his catalogue of scoundrels to praise Handel and Pope. While Matthew fills the role of the satirist, Lydia takes the part of the panegyrist to present in her letters views which are diametrically opposed to Matthew's. The same scenes which disgust Matthew delight Lydia, and much of the novel's humorous effect

is achieved by the gentle irony involved in this technique of double exposure.

Lydia takes a genuine but naive pleasure in her first outing into the beau monde. The contrasts between Lydia's and Matthew's views are many, some obvious and others more subtle. When Matthew complains of the miserable weather for riding on Clifton Downs, Lydia rhapsodizes over the vernal countryside (XI,33). Her panegyric of Bath (XI,49) mentions the bells and music which had put Matthew in such a temper. The architecture criticized by Matthew receives her praise, and even the stinking River Avon becomes a pleasing prospect in her eyes. Perhaps the contrast is most noticeable in their conflicting views of London. Matthew takes a strong objection to the mixing of different classes of people so that "there is no distinction or subordination left. The different departments of life are jumbled together" (XI,114). Lydia, on the other hand, takes a great delight in "the crowds of people that swarm in the streets" (XI,119). Naturally Ranelagh and Vauxhall gardens, which are scenes of wonder and enchantment to Lydia, appear very different in the harsh light of Matthew's realism. Where Matthew notices "a few lamps glimmer like so many farthing candles" (XI,116), Lydia enthuses over "a thousand golden lamps, that emulate the noonday sun" (XI,119). The result of their travels is to bring these two observers much closer in viewpoint. Matthew's views are softened by his Scottish experiences, and Lydia's vision of the world loses some of its rosy hues when she writes:

Unexperienced as I am in the commerce of life, I have seen enough to give me a disgust to the generality of those who carry it on; there is such malice, treachery, and dissimulation, even among professed friends and intimate companions, as cannot fail to strike a virtuous mind with

horror; and when vice quits the stage for a moment, her place is immediately occupied by folly, which is often too serious to excite anything but compassion. (XII,173)

Although at this point Lydia is expressing a sentiment with which Matthew might well agree, at the beginning of the novel the old experienced man of the world and the young girl just out of school represent the two extreme views of satire and panegyric. Smollett then interposes a third observer to act as an intermediary between the two biasses. Jerry, the student down from Oxford, shares many of Matthew's good qualities, but lacks his excess of irritability. He seems, in fact, very much like a young Matthew, one not yet soured by his correspondence with the world. Jerry can therefore maintain a more detached point of view in his description of events. His uncle objects to the mixing of all classes of people in the public assemblies at Bath as "a vile mob of noise and impertinence, without decency and subordination" (XI,62), but Jerry finds this chaos "a source of infinite amusement" (XI,62). Jerry takes a delight in perceiving the incongruities of the social melting-pot in which an attorney can kick the shins of the Chancellor of England, yet his is not a satirical outlook because he lacks the scornful note of disapproval which is a necessary part of Matthew's criticism. Matthew would want circumstances to be changed for the better; Jerry is content to enjoy those circumstances as they are. Jerry's letter shows that he is aware of the difference between his standpoint and his uncle's:

I cannot account for my being pleased with these incidents any other way than by saying they are truly ridiculous in their own nature, and serve to heighten the humour in the farce of life, which I am determined to enjoy as long as I can.

Those follies that move my uncle's spleen excite my laughter. He is as tender as a man without a skin who cannot bear the slightest touch without flinching. What tickles another would give him torment, and yet he has what we may call lucid intervals, when he is remarkably facetious.-- Indeed, I never knew a hypochondriac so apt to be infected with good-humour. He is the most risible misanthrope I ever met with. (XI,63)

Jery's view of life emphasizes the comic possibilities rather than the satiric condemnation or the naïve acceptance of its follies. His comments provide a counter-balance to the excesses of both Matthew's and Lydia's views. Together the three viewpoints provide a framework around the action of the novel, which includes not only the behaviour of the world at large, but also the antics of the letter-writers themselves. While Jery's narrative remains comparatively neutral, the structure of the novel links the development of Matthew's, and to a lesser extent Lydia's, type of perception with the geographical progression of the family party, and the change in tone is reflected in the improvement in Matthew's health.

The many correspondences between Humphry Clinker and Smollett's Present State of All the Nations have been well documented by Louis L. Martz.⁴ Goerge M. Kahrl has also shown how Smollett's career as a travel-writer influenced his proclivities as a novelist.⁵ Smollett, of course, in the prefatory letters to Humphry Clinker has his fictional book-seller compare the manuscript with seven other examples of contemporary travel-writing, including Smollett's own Travels Through France and Italy. Martz suggests that one of Smollett's purposes in writing Humphry Clinker was to redress the balance of praise between England and Scotland, because in the Present State Scotland had received scanty treatment in comparison with the eulogies expended on England. Whatever Smollett's personal

motives, the reader needs no extrinsic, background information in order to perceive the change in the mood of the novel when Matthew's party crosses the Tweed into Scotland.

There is still some minor carping. Jerry notes that the country inn "was so filthy and disagreeable in all respects, that my uncle began to fret, and his gouty symptoms to recur" (XII,49). But they are soon rescued from that predicament by the kindness of Mr. Mitchelson who provides private lodgings for the travel-party. In this way the inadequacy of public accommodation provides the opportunity for Smollett to illustrate the superiority of Scottish hospitality and benevolence towards the stranger. Neither does Smollett shy away from describing a noxious Edinburgh custom which was probably common knowledge in England. Matthew is allowed to make a carefully reasoned observation of civic laws which permitted the emptying of slop-pails from the windows of houses into the streets below each night at ten o'clock. The same subject receives a more humorous treatment in Winifred's letter when she describes the resultant stench in more lurid terms, and makes a quaint interpretation of the cry of "Gardy loo!" used to warn the walkers in the streets. Obviously such a custom would have many possibilities for Smollett to use as the material of his satire, whether it be the satire of indignation or of ridicule. Instead Smollett is content to decry the custom with the most dispassionate observation of which Matthew is capable, and then to use the topic in order to develop the comic possibilities of Winifred's character.

Generally Matthew approves of all he sees in Scotland. Like any

careful eighteenth-century traveller he describes Scottish agricultural customs, but notes that the Scottish open-field system lacks the shelter provided by hedge-rows in England. He finds the Edinburgh water supply fresh and adequate, and the meat plentiful and wholesome. He is pleased with his observation of Scottish laws and civil institutions, and he commends the University of Edinburgh for its lecture system. Matthew even approves the tunes played on the carillon, a revealing comment considering the effect that the bells at Bath had on his temper. But now the crowds and stench of Bath and London are all left behind, and Matthew's encomium is reflected in his regaining of health as he writes:

I now begin to feel the good effect of exercise. I eat like a farmer, sleep from midnight till eight in the morning, without interruption, and enjoy a constant tide of spirits, equally distant from inanition and excess. (XII,54)

The biggest contrast between English and Scottish life is in the hospitality offered to the travellers. One of the last episodes before leaving England had been the visit to Squire Burdock to experience "old English hospitality", a phrase which Matthew notes is only used by foreigners "by way of irony and sarcasm" (XI,214). Burdock is an extravagant, fox-hunting squire, a successor to all the squire-buffoons that appear in every Smollett novel. Besides his boorishness the travellers also have to suffer the haughtiness of his wife. During their stay they meet the Melvilles and Grieve, the reformed Ferdinand, in a short, sentimental sequel to Count Fathom, in which Ferdinand unknowingly saves his erstwhile benefactor and dupe from a highwayman. After witnessing their heart-warming reunion, Matthew expects Burdock to accommodate the benighted travellers, an expectation which puts Burdock's

boasted hospitality to the test, and the inevitable rebuff has its effect on Matthew's health:

We returned to the squire's, where we expected an invitation to pass the night, which was wet and raw; but, it seems, Squire Burdock's hospitality reached not so far for the honour of Yorkshire: we therefore departed in the evening, and lay at an inn, where I caught cold. (XI,224)

In Scotland the travellers find friends and generous hospitality on every side, so that Matthew writes, "I have met with more kindness, hospitality, and rational entertainment, in a few weeks, than ever I received in any other country during the whole course of my life" (XII,70). The further Matthew penetrates into Scottish life the greater becomes his praise, and as his spirits soar so his ill-health is forgotten. Moving from England to Scotland, Matthew changes from satirist to panegyrist, displacing Lydia from her role, as her effusions are now superfluous. Lydia sends only one short letter from Scotland in which her appreciation of Loch Lomond nowhere approaches Matthew's rhapsodies on the wealth and beauty of the lake, in keeping with his extravagant praise for this "Scottish paradise" (XII,98), and of the Highlands which appeared "like a vast fantastic vision in the clouds" (XII,95). Nearly a quarter of the whole novel is taken up with Jery's and Matthew's eulogies of Scotland and its people. In style the letters of Jery and his uncle are now indistinguishable, although Jery is more concerned with the entertainment he receives while Matthew concentrates on the beauties of the topography. Even human nature appears in a better light in this setting: the Duke of Queensberry is "one of those few noblemen whose goodness of heart does honour to human nature" (XII,122), while the return of Captain Brown to his impoverished father is an incident which "had in

some measure redeemed human nature from the reproach of pride, selfishness, and ingratitude" (XII,116).

It is significant that Smollett's one great Scottish character, perhaps the greatest of all his creations, does not accompany the family party through Scotland.⁶ Lismahago first appears in the courtyard of an inn at Durham, travels with the party as far as Feltonbridge, and then does not reappear until the travellers have completed their tour of Scotland and have reached Carlisle. As a figure for ridicule, a grotesque caricature, Lismahago has no place in Matthew's view of Scotland; the hilarity which attends his antics would only detract from the seriousness of Matthew's and Jerry's tributes. Instead his argumentative nature is useful for questioning Matthew's preconceived notions about Scotland. Matthew notes, "The spirit of contradiction is naturally so strong in Lismahago, that I believe in my conscience he has rummaged, and read, and studied with indefatigable attention, in order to qualify himself to refute established maxims" (XII,33). Certainly his discussions destroy popular myths about Scottish education and bellicosity, and cast doubt on the benefits of English trade, government, law and the freedom of the press which the Act of Union had conferred upon Scotland. His scepticism has the effect of exposing the typical Englishman's prejudices about Scotland, clearing the way for Matthew and Jerry to make their fresh discoveries. Seemingly Smollett will not allow anyone but a Scot to make adverse comments on the well-being of Scotland; although Lismahago turns aside misconceived compliments, he is also quick to rebut some of the critical remarks made about his country. His discussion with

Matthew becomes a postscript to the Scottish journey, when Lismahago rejects the comparison between the wealth of England and the poverty of Scotland. He argues that poverty is not an epithet of opprobrium, and then makes the best of the other side of the argument by suggesting that the affluence which Matthew had observed in the Scottish economy was not the result of the Union, but had been achieved by Scottish self-sufficiency.

M. A. Goldberg suggests a deeper significance for the inclusion of Lismahago's life history.⁷ He interprets Humphry Clinker as a study in the relation of the ideas of Primitivism and Progress in order to link Smollett with the "Scottish Commonsense School of Philosophy." By this view the journey to Scotland is prologued by Lismahago's experiences among the North American Indians so that the savagery he has witnessed becomes an effective argument against the concept of the 'Noble Savage' living in a primitive paradise. On the other hand, Matthew's observations have pointed out the barbarities and corruption of modern civilization in Bath and London. Scotland, therefore, remains as the happy medium between the two extremes, and is, according to Goldberg, Smollett's resolution of the conflict between the two philosophical positions. Whether Smollett was actually intending to illustrate a philosophical concept is immaterial, but there is no mistaking his portrayal of Scotland as an ideal for a happy society. Scotland reminds both Matthew and Jerry of their native Wales and throughout the novel Brambleton Hall remains in the background as a flourishing, self-sufficient, rural community, supervised by the benevolent squire.

The contrast between extravagant urbanity and rural husbandry is also apparent in the stories of the two English estates which Matthew visits en route to Wales. The Dennison estate had been brought to ruin by the depredations of a fox-hunting older brother. Dennison, a lawyer, has had his fill of town society, and on inheriting the run-down estate he ignores the advice of his friends by deciding to settle in the country. He rejects a life of extravagance and dissipation, refuses to compete in luxury with fashionable company, and so develops his estate to achieve "that pitch of rural felicity" to which Matthew had been "aspiring these twenty years in vain" (XII,190). In contrast there is the desolation of Baynard's estate which has nearly been ruined by the vanity and extravagance of Baynard's wife. The Baynards, along with other weak neighbours also ruled by tyrannous wives, compete in expensive ostentation, living far above their means, and the estate is only saved by the opportune death of Mrs. Baynard, after which Matthew is able to make plans to put the estate on a sound financial footing again.

The example of both the Dennisons and the Baynards demonstrates the happiness of being self-sufficient and independent of the corrupt world of foolish luxury, the same lesson that is taught on a larger scale in the portrait of Scotland. Matthew's excursion into the polite world teaches him the same truth, although typically the comparison between town and country is couched in terms of his health, and the factors of fresh air, water, food and rest which create the conditions for living the good life. Urbanization, on the other hand, leads to the adulteration, pollution and contamination of man's physical needs and

produces that spirit of competition which destroys human relationships:

All the people I see are too much engrossed by schemes of interest or ambition, to have any room left for sentiment or friendship. Even in some of my old acquaintances, those schemes and pursuits have obliterated all traces of our former connexion. Conversation is reduced to party disputes and illiberal altercation -- social commerce to formal visits and card-playing. If you pick up a diverting original by accident, it may be dangerous to amuse yourself with his oddities. He is generally a tarter at bottom -- a sharper, a spy, or a lunatic. Every person you deal with endeavours to overreach you in the way of business. You are preyed upon by idle mendicants, who beg in the phrase of borrowing, and live upon the spoils of the stranger. Your tradesmen are without conscience, your friends without affection, and your dependants without fidelity. (XI,160)

Matthew is here describing London society following a long discourse on its lack of healthful amenities. Apart from some comments on Edinburgh, most of Scotland is portrayed as a rural community, and the journey home to Wales does not involve the description of any of the towns through which the travellers would have passed. The journey from Gloucester to Scotland is therefore the journey from town to country, from illness to health, from a view of man's malice to an experience of his benevolence, from a state of irritability and rancour to a state of peaceful felicity.

This pattern upon which the novel is structured may also be seen in the development of the main characters. We have already noticed how Matthew moves from the satiric to the panegyric view of life. The events after his return to England demonstrate a new-found equanimity in the face of set-backs. He can still be sensitive to Oxmington's lack of hospitality to the extent of offering a challenge, and making a show of force in order to exact an apology, but Matthew's own letter shows that he is aware of the fatuity of such 'polite' behaviour when he

writes, "At what time may a man think himself exempted from the necessity of sacrificing his repose to the punctilios of a contemptible world? I have been engaged in a ridiculous adventure" (XII,143). Perhaps this shows that Matthew will never reach that happy state of detachment enjoyed by his nephew, but certainly his travels through the beau monde and his sojourn in Scotland leave him, not only with a new outlook on life, but with a new lease on life itself:

My health is so much improved, that I am disposed to bid defiance to gout and rheumatism. I begin to think I have put myself on the superannuated list too soon, and absurdly sought for health in the retreats of laziness. I am persuaded, that all valetudinarians are too sedentary, too regular, and too cautious. We should sometimes increase the motion of the machine, to unclog the wheels of life; and now and then take a plunge amidst the waves of excess, in order to case-harden the constitution. I have even found a change of company as necessary as a change of air, to promote a vigorous circulation of the spirits, which is the very essence and criterion of good health. (XII,215)

Far from being a random series of incidents, the novel shows a well-defined movement from despair to hope, a pattern that is also seen in its sentimental sub-plots. Lydia finds her lover, the pseudo-actor, revealed as the son of an honourable family; Winifred and Tabitha both find husbands; Humphry, the title-character, finds his father, a wife, an occupation and a social position. From bare-bottomed, friendless indigence the journey brings him to a position of comfortable respectability. Although he is the title-figure of the novel Humphry shows very little development as a character; throughout the novel he is consistently humble and benevolent, and devoted to his patron. Only his methodist religion is criticized, and only for its excesses of enthusiastic fervour. Humphry's piety is part of his goodness, and even his upstart preaching is shown to have some good effects among the servant classes and the

prisoners in the gaol. Humphry's position in the novel is principally to act as a touchstone to test the reactions of the other characters, and to illustrate the defect of a legal system which is prepared to condemn an innocent person to death. Like Roderick the naked castaway on the Sussex foreshore, Humphry makes his first appearance as a friendless and impoverished waif, enabling Matthew to exhibit his native generosity, while Tabitha reveals her silly prudishness. Humphry also serves as a link between Jerry and what Matthew had been as a youth. The ending of the plot, which reveals Humphry as Matthew's long-lost bastard son, recalls Matthew's advice to Jerry in the matter of Miss Blackerly's pregnancy. Although this advice suggests a cynical, man-of-the-world attitude to philandering on the part of Matthew, nevertheless Humphry's history reveals that Matthew had shown great concern for the plight of Humphry's mother, and shows how Matthew's sensibility is disguised by the mask of worldliness.

Only Jerry, the neutral observer, remains untouched by his experiences, because even at the beginning of the novel his letters reveal his benevolent nature and an ability to shield himself from the malevolence of the world. He forgives Mansel for drowning his dog, and is even prepared to accept the blame for Miss Blackerly's pregnancy. Only when his sister's honour is at stake does he act with a rash bravery, but even in this episode his good nature asserts itself and averts a tragedy. Compared with Smollett's other young heroes, he lacks a sense of indignation at the folly and vice of the world. Instead he is the amused spectator of ridiculous humanity, and the purpose of his letters

to his Oxford correspondent is that Phillips should share his amusement in observing the "family of originals" (XI,9). In spirit Jerry is much closer to Gil Blas than to Roderick Random, and consequently is a much more likable character. Jerry, therefore, presents a consistent standard in his attitude towards the world, and Matthew's experiences during the journey allow him to arrive at a similar position. The major theme of the novel is expressed in Jerry's summation:

Without all doubt, the greatest advantage acquired in travelling and perusing mankind in the original, is that of dispelling those shameful clouds that darken the faculties of the mind, preventing it from judging with candour and precision. (XII,206)

One of Smollett's greatest achievements in this novel is his development of the characterization of Lismahago to fit into the general structure. Jerry's description of Lismahago's arrival at the inn emphasizes his grotesque appearance; Lismahago's falling off his horse reveals his hasty temper, his spirit of resentment, and his quickness to exact revenge. When his life-story shows the injustice and ingratitude from which he has suffered, his calm words bely his inner dissatisfaction. Matthew, of course, is incensed at hearing this case-history of flagrant injustice, and perceives the affectation of Lismahago's apparent acceptance of his lot. Both Matthew and Jerry adopt Lismahago as a curious figure of fun, an original from whom they can derive some amusement, and his Scottish dialect "certainly gives a clownish air even to sentiments of the greatest dignity and decorum" (XII,71). However, the magnitude of his sufferings and especially the ingratitude of the world give him the potentiality of a tragic figure. While his outward appearance is one of ridiculous caricature, we realize that this is only a façade that conceals

a stoic forbearance. By maintaining this pretence of imperviousness to the malice of the world, Lismahago provides an alternative to the modes adopted by Matthew and Jery. Matthew becomes enraged by the scurrilous libels of Scotland etched in the windows of the inns of northern England, and wonders why the Scots do not break these windows in revenge, a reaction typical of the indignant satirist. Lismahago turns aside these insults with his sardonic wit, observing that it would only "make the satire more cutting and severe" to break the glass and have to pay for it in the reckoning (XII,26). Ironically this great champion of Scotland is unable to subsist in his native country, and he is in bitter retreat when he is rescued by Matthew's benevolence. His irascibility is still apparent in the Oxmington incident, but the nicety of his revenge against Sir Thomas Bulford shows a softening of his character with the approach of his marriage to Tabitha. Finally Lismahago discards the protective shell of polite argument when it is no longer necessary to cover his inner resentment against the world. As his fortune changes as a result of meeting the Brambles, so does his personality bloom, and Jery notes his transformation:

His temper, which has been soured and shrivelled by disappointment and chagrin, is now swelled out and smoothed like a raisin in a plum-porridge. From being reserved and punctilious, he is become easy and obliging. He cracks jokes, laughs and banters, with the most facetious familiarity; and, in a word, enters into all our schemes of merriment and pastime. (XII,225)

Much of the light-hearted humour in Smollett's novels derives from his imitation of the strange modes of speech and dialect used by his satiric victims and comic characters. The happier mood of Sir Launcelot Greaves may be partly attributed to the much greater use of

dialogue in this novel. Satire involves scorn, but the reader's response to the satiric target is less bitterly indignant when that character condemns himself out of his own mouth. When the character lacks the competence to conceal his own weakness, he seems to have less potential for evil. The magistrate Grobble had caused a great deal of injustice and suffering; nevertheless his speech to Sir Launcelot reveals him stripped of all pretension as a weak and ridiculous snob. His ineffectiveness tends to nullify his harmfulness; the reader laughs at such a ridiculous figure with derision instead of loathing him for his misdeeds.

In Humphry Clinker this technique of satire is developed to the ultimate extent when the novelist hides behind the masks of his personae; all the action in this novel takes place within the letters written by his characters. Besides enabling Smollett to incorporate the multiplicity of viewpoint which is important in modulating the satiric tones colouring his description of the travellers' world, the form of the novel gives both exterior and interior views of each character when every letter becomes a dramatic monologue by which the writer unconsciously exposes his own foibles.

This aspect of the novel's construction is especially important in the portrayal of Tabitha Bramble. She begins as another middle-aged spinster, a successor to Narcissa's aunt in Roderick Random and to Mrs. Grizzle in Peregrine Pickle. At first she is characterized by her selfishness and greed. Jerry laughs at her ridiculous fondness for her dog, and the meeting with Humphry contrasts her indifference and meanness

with Matthew's benevolence. The other letter-writers laugh at her efforts to find a husband, and at her infatuation with Humphry's religiosity. Her own letters also show the same unattractive traits in her concern for the profits of her dairy, and in her preoccupation with her clothes. Although her egoism is just as apparent in her own letters as in those of her companions, nevertheless the effect is different. We realize that she is unaware of her own faults when her letters show her unconsciously revealing them to the reader. Consequently she achieves an air of pathos when she unwittingly gives away her ridiculous pretensions. The unconscious irony of her letters, one of the sources of the novel's humour, has also a humanizing effect in suggesting the depths of character that lie beneath the fatuous exterior described by the other letter-writers. Tabitha, therefore, develops in the course of the novel from the stock caricature of embittered spinsterhood to become a convincing and humorous human being, a suitable mate for Lismahago and deserving some of the reader's sympathy. Tabitha, therefore, may be seen as another example of Smollett's satiric caricature being reduced to human proportions to become a part of the comic world, transcending the borderline between satire and comedy.

Perhaps it is ironic that a novelist whose career was devoted to experimenting with the prose forms of satire should reach his greatest achievements in the realm of comedy. Yet this is almost inevitable in a work of lasting interest. Satire has the topical appeal of scandalous gossip when it attacks a person or institution known to the reader. With the passage of time the original historical target may pass out of the

reader's experience. Perhaps Shakespeare created Falstaff as a satire on Sir John Oldcastle. When the original is forgotten the success of the character depends on the writer's ability to make him live in the literary work. As a work of literary art, the character, like Falstaff, may then be regarded with comic detachment instead of satiric scorn. Satire may also endure because of the reader's delight in the nature of the attack. The reader's attention is diverted from the target-figure by the sheer virtuosity of the satirist without regard to the victim's deserts. Pope's scathing attack on Sporus is a timeless satire because of its wit, and the reader need not identify Sporus in order to appreciate the satire. Smollett's victims in Advice and Reproof lacked the development to exist independently of their originals, and Smollett's mode of attack was too slight to make any lasting impression. In his novels Smollett was able to create caricatures of enduring interest. Pallett, the Physician, Weazel, Whiffle, Mrs. Grizzle, Captain Crowe, as well as many lesser figures, continue to evoke the reader's scorn at their absurdities. Nevertheless, Smollett is most enjoyable for the characters he developed free from the reader's approbrium, and his Trunnion, Mrs. Pickle, Tabitha Bramble, Win Jenkins, Crabshaw, Lismahago, and, above all, Matthew Bramble, are the comic characters for which he is most praised.

Certainly the least interesting and least convincing parts of Smollett's novels are the romantic and sentimental interludes which generally detract from the comedy and satire. We have already noted Smollett's inability to write a convincing love-scene. Partly this is due to the lack of reality in his heroines. To say that his heroines are

wooden would be to suggest a solidity which they do not possess. They are all ephemeral creatures, projections of the heroes' ideals, rather than people of flesh and blood. Generally, like Roderick's Narcissa, they suffer the heroes' attentions quite passively. Only Peregrine's Emilia shows a little spirit, when he tries to seduce her, while Monimia wilts away completely in a mock-death scene, when she is deserted by Renaldo. Neither is Smollett convincing when he tries to portray noble ideals in such characters as Renaldo or Monimia's father. Smollett's "good" characters lack the positive qualities to make them believable. Consequently the "romance" side of his novels is completely overshadowed by the satiric side, in which Smollett is able to draw a multitude of authentic figures of absurdity and vice.

Humphry Clinker is generally regarded as Smollett's finest achievement, a novel that stands upon its own merits and needs no allowance made for its being a forerunner in the development of the English novel.⁸ The main reason for its continuing popularity is that its characters are extremely convincing and believable as human beings. In Matthew Bramble, Smollett was finally able to create a protagonist who is able to view the world satirically and to perceive its imperfection without becoming corroded by his indignation and alienating the reader's affection. Matthew does not shirk his moral responsibility to decry evil and corruption wherever he meets them, and to expose the follies of individual people to the public gaze. But at the same time his secret charity is working to reward virtue and the victims of injustice.

Satire in this novel consists mainly of Matthew's observation of

the world, and, to a lesser extent, of his encounters with some of its foolish people. Matthew, therefore, exemplifies the satiric outlook which emphasizes the defects of human society, but this somewhat pessimistic outlook is not allowed to dominate the novel. Instead Matthew's views are questioned by being arrayed alongside the comic viewpoint of Jerry and the panegyric viewpoint of Lydia, and the development of the action in the novel shows how Matthew's outlook on the world moves from satiric condemnation towards comic acceptance. Humphry Clinker shows a remarkable fusion of its many elements into a single dominant pattern which is the structure of the novel. Disgust becomes delight. Dissatisfaction with city life changes to praise of rural independence. Satirical caricatures develop into likable human beings. The bitter and sardonic satirist is revealed to the world as the benevolent and lovable Matthew Bramble.

In Humphry Clinker Smollett shows how satire releases the corrosive feelings of execration associated with moral condemnation. The satirist is freed of his anger and indignation by satirizing the objects which arouse his wrathful sense of justice. His satire exaggerates the evil of the world, enlarging it to ridiculous proportions; vice and folly become the means of his amusement. His ridicule punctures the balloon of worldly pretensions; his perspicacity reveals the truth beneath the façade of hypocrisy. Humphry Clinker shows how satire enables the satirist not only to recognize the evil of the world, but also to shield himself from its effects.

Smollett's development as a novelist may be seen in the creation of the satirist-hero whose satiric vision reveals the worst aspects of

human nature. The success of his novels may be measured by the affability of his protagonists. Roderick's petulant self-interest, Peregrine's arrogant jesting, Ferdinand's callous criminality, and Launcelot's fanciful chivalry are bars to the reader's acceptance of these heroes. Only Matthew Bramble is shown by the novel's complex technique to have an inner warmth and sensibility beneath the exterior of irascibility which is his protection from the indignities of the world. The satirist who expects and perceives the worst in mankind takes a pessimistic view of life. Nevertheless, the action of Smollett's novels shows the satiric position as a transitory experience. Each of the heroes adopts the satiric role when misfortune or travel causes a disruption of his life. Roderick is cheated of his inheritance; Peregrine is corrupted by his adventures on the Grand Tour and his sojourn in the beau monde; Ferdinand suffers from an unfortunate upbringing because of his mother's profession; Launcelot believes he has lost his beloved Aurelia; Matthew leaves the peaceful seclusion of his Welsh retreat to revisit the fashionable world of the city. The ending of each novel shows the hero restored to his rightful place when he is prepared to withdraw from the society whose evils have been exposed by his satiric vision. The satirist gains his experience of humanity, and is then able to live at peace with himself and with the world. The final effect of satire is not to be measured by what it does to the victim. Although the traditional satirist portrays himself as a fervent moralist burning with zeal in his attempts to reform man and society, Smollett's novels suggest that Smollett

believed the real purpose of satire lies in its effect on the satirist rather than his victim. Satire provides the satirist with an outlet which relieves him of his rancour and allows him to come to terms with the world of vice and folly. Smollett's culminating achievement as a novelist was to show Matthew Bramble undergoing the ordeal of the satirist, and to make a human comedy out of Bramble's reconciliation with life.

FOOTNOTES

Introduction

¹Letters, 56. In a letter dated March 16, 1759, Smollett coined the phrase "great Cham of literature" when he asked John Wilkes to use his influence to secure the discharge of Johnson's negro servant, Francis Barber, who was thought to have been pressed into naval service aboard the Stag Frigate. There is no record of Smollett ever having met Johnson, although in this letter he writes, "He and I were never catercousins," implying some degree of acquaintanceship. Johnson is known to have visited the Chelsea China Manufactory, which was next door to Smollett's Chelsea residence (see Knapp, Smollett, 218).

²All quotations from the novels in this study are taken from the 1895 Navarre Society edition of the Works, edited and introduced by George Saintsbury. The volume and page numbers are given in parenthesis following the quotation. Saintsbury's edition is limited to the five novels, as are the Maynadier editions of 1902 and 1907. Smollett's plays and poetry are found in the 1809 Edinburgh edition, and in Sir Walter Scott's one-volume edition of the Works. In addition I have used James L. Clifford's edition of Peregrine Pickle because it is based on the original 1751 text, whereas the other collections use Smollett's revised text of 1757.

³Thackeray, Works, XXIII, 194.

⁴"New Smollett Letters," 360.

⁵Joliat, 11.

⁶Scott writes in his introduction to the Works (13), "Roderick Random may be considered as an imitation of Le Sage." In his history of the English novel Walter Allen uses the difference in their derivations in order to contrast the work of Fielding, who "was indebted largely to Cervantes for his conception of the novel," with that of Smollett, who "went to Le Sage, whose Gil Blas had appeared in France in 1735" (65).

⁷Joliat, 12.

⁸*Ibid.*, 13.

⁹*Ibid.*, 16-58.

¹⁰*Ibid.*, 35.

¹¹See Knapp, Smollett, 280-283. The authorship of An Atom is still inconclusive, although it has been included in Sir Walter Scott's and other collections of the Works. Keys to the characters in An Atom have been printed in the Henley and the Basil Blackwell editions, and also in Melville's biography. Smollett's contemporaries assumed him to be the author because the work attacks public figures who were known to have

incurred Smollett's wrath, but Smollett is not known to have admitted to being the author. The tradition grew from contemporary reviews of the work in London Chronicle and Political Register, and Impartial Review, but Gentleman's Magazine, Monthly Review, Town and Country Magazine and Critical Review made no suggestion of Smollett's being the author.

Chapter 1

¹In view of the prevalence of satire in Roderick Random and the rest of the novels, the word "occasionally" in this passage must be read to mean that every incident of the novel provides an occasion or opportunity for Smollett to use satire. The confusion arises from the tendency to read the word "occasionally" in its more common usage of "sporadically" or "now and again", a meaning which conflicts with "every incident".

²Johnson, II, 16. It seems likely that Johnson wrote Rambler No. 4 with Fielding's Tom Jones in mind, as there is no doubt that Fielding's hero does combine good and bad qualities, while his attractiveness leads the reader to condone his vices. Johnson's statement does seem to represent a current view of the novel to which Smollett would have subscribed, although we might not regard Roderick quite as blameless a character as Smollett intended him to be. It is interesting to note that both Mrs. Boscowen and Lady Montagu first supposed Roderick Random to be the work of Fielding (see Knapp, Smollett, 96).

³Ibid., II, 20.

⁴Advice was announced in the General Advertiser on September 4th, 1746, and Reproof appeared the following January, just a year before the publication of Roderick Random. Smollett had written The Regicide some years earlier, and "The Tears of Scotland" was presumably composed soon after the battle of Culloden in April, 1746, but neither work appeared in public until later (see Knapp, Smollett, 61-2).

⁵Pope, IV, 327n.

⁶Both Gilfillan and C. Elliot, for the 1809 Edinburgh edition of the Works, follow Smollett's text as it was revised when Advice and Reproof were published together in 1748. These quotations from Smollett's poems are taken from Gilfillan, 219-236.

⁷In his footnotes Smollett hints at the triviality of the public figures mentioned by the Friend: "'Newcastle:' alluding to the philosophical contempt which this great personage manifested for the sensual delights of the stomach.--'Grafton:' this noble peer, remarkable for sublimity of parts, by virtue of his office (Lord Chamberlain) conferred the laureate on Colley Cibber, Esq., a delectable bard, whose character has already employed, together with his own, the greatest pens of the age.--'Granville and Bath:' two noblemen famous in their day for nothing more than their fortitude in bearing the scorn and reproach of their

country" (Gilfillan, 220). Smollett's note on Colley Cibber provides another link between Smollett and Pope.

⁸Reproof, 101-122. Smollett's footnote identifies Chesterfield. Knapp (Smollett, 70), on the evidence of Smollett's footnote to the first edition, identifies "the melting Scot" as Daniel MacKercher, who was also praised as Mr. M----- in Peregrine Pickle in which Smollett gives a thinly disguised account of the Annesley case.

⁹Le Sage makes a similar plea at the beginning of Gil Blas but with scarcely the same need that Smollett had for his work.

¹⁰Earlier that year Smollett and Garrick had reconciled their differences when the latter produced Smollett's play The Reprisal at the Theatre Royal, Drury Lane.

¹¹Highet, 12..

¹²Rosenheim, Ch.I. "The Satiric Spectrum," 1-34.

¹³Clark, "The Art of Satire and the Satiric Spectrum," 31-49.

¹⁴Ibid., 39.

¹⁵Howard S. Buck's study "Smollett and Akenside" suggests that it is doubtful whether Smollett ever met Akenside face to face. The aspects of Akenside's character satirized in the figure of the Physician were common knowledge at that time. Buck suggests that this is not a personal attack because Smollett merely caricatures Akenside's public character. Smollett ignored, or perhaps was not aware of, some of Akenside's private idiosyncracies.

¹⁶James Sutherland shows how important is the aura of judgment in satire by quoting a news item which appeared in a daily newspaper. When this same item was reprinted in the "This England" column of the New Statesman the effect became satiric because the compiler of the column expected the reader to react "with the critical condescension of a good New Statesman reader" (English Satire, 6).

Chapter II

¹"New Smollett Letters," 360.

²Boswell, II, 175. "Johnson. 'Why, Sir, if you were to read Richardson for the story, your impatience would be so much fretted that you would hang yourself.'"

³Wagenknecht, 76.

⁴Gerould, 97.

⁵Lovett, 78.

⁶Garnett in Verschoyle's The English Novelists, 71.

⁷Maynadier, Introduction to the Philadelphia edition of the Works, xix.

⁸Ibid.

⁹Saintsbury, Introduction to Roderick Random, I, xxix.

¹⁰Melville L. S. Benjamin, 48.

¹¹Ibid.

¹²Works, VIII, 2. Smollett, addressing himself, writes, "Know then, I can despise your pride, while I honour your integrity, and applaud your taste, while I am shocked at your ostentation.--I have known you trifling, superficial, and obstinate in dispute; meanly jealous and awkwardly reserved; rash and haughty in your resentments; and coarse and lowly in your connexions. . . . They [your faults] are chiefly the excesses of a sanguine disposition and looseness of thought, impatient of caution or control."

¹³Clifford, Introduction to Peregrine Pickle, xxiii.

¹⁴Paulson, 392.

¹⁵Ibid., 389.

¹⁶Preston, "Smollett and the Benevolent Misanthrope Type."

¹⁷L. Rice-Oxley, for example, in his Introduction to Humphry Clinker, ix, writes, "The character of Commodore Trunnion is admirably drawn, and culminates in the death-bed scene, which, in mixture of humour and pathos, is in literature excelled only by the death of Falstaff as discussed by the Hostess, Nym and Bardolph."

¹⁸Putney, "The Plan of Peregrine Pickle."

Chapter III

¹Le Sage, The Adventures of Gil Blas of Santillane, Ch. 9. Smollett's translation of this work, which followed closely on his success with Roderick Random, is still the basis for a modern edition of Le Sage in the Premier World Classics series, although in a letter to Carlyle Smollett referred to his translation as a "Bookseller's job, done in a hurry" ("New Smollett Letters").

²Satire of the medical profession is also found in Gil Blas,

particularly in Gil Blas's adventures with Dr. Sangrado. Ferdinand's pretended sickness is reminiscent of Gil Blas's ruse to deceive the robbers in the cave (Ch. 9). Both Gil Blas and Ferdinand suffer a great deal of agony in the cure of their non-existent illnesses.

³Smollett's interpolation in the parenthesis may be regarded as a sly dig at the prejudice of the English towards foreign medical degrees, which is also satirized in Ferdinand's quarrel with Doctor Looby (IX,101). Smollett's own medical degree was granted by Aberdeen.

⁴Smollett's use of the word "original" to mean an eccentric or idiosyncratic person may be derived from Le Sage. One of the students in Le Sage's preface "Au Lecteur" at the beginning of Gil Blas says, "Je voudrois sçavoir quel Original a pû faire une si ridicule Epitaphe?"

⁵Coleridge's Miscellaneous Criticism, 55. Zeluco (1786) is a novel by Dr. John Moore, Smollett's friend and biographer, and father of the Sir John Moore of the retreat to La Coruña.

⁶See Sir Launcelot Greaves, X, 86, 90, 111, 115, 140, 145, 148, 182, 201, 214, 245, 253, for references to Launcelot's lunacy. Launcelot's quest finally leads him to a locked cell in a private lunatic asylum before he repents of his frolics of knight-errantry.

⁷When Launcelot is surrounded by the prisoners in the gaol, who pour out their complaints to him, he could not help comparing the scene "to what would appear upon a much more awful occasion, when the cries of the widow and the orphan, the injured and oppressed, would be uttered at the tribunal of an unerring Judge, against the villanous and insolent authors of their calamity." (X,116)

⁸See the quotation from the novel on page 48 above.

Chapter IV

¹Kahrl, 122-125, discusses Smollett's possible sources for this type of travel book.

²Martz, 133-135, makes a detailed examination of the parallels between the two works. In all likelihood Anstey suggested to Smollett the name of Tabitha for a shrewish, middle-aged woman. Anstey also has two of his female characters, like Tabitha and Winifred, get carried away by enthusiastic religion, like Humphry's. Another of Anstey's incidents suggests Smollett's episode when Matthew is infuriated by the dancing of Mackilligut.

³Kahrl, 125, lists the resemblances between Smollett and Bramble, making the important distinction that Smollett suffered miserably from ill-health during his journey to Scotland in the summer of 1766, while the fictional Bramble enjoys a recovery of health and spirits. Smollett

also portrays himself in the novel as the author S-----, whose Sunday afternoon entertainment of his literary minions is described in Jery's letter. Martz, 126, also gives evidence that Smollett was the original of the Mr. Serle who, in the novel, suffers Paunceford's ingratitude.

⁴Martz, 136-146.

⁵Kahrl, 148-153.

⁶Lismahago is generally accepted to be based on the historical figure of Captain Robert Stobo, whose adventures are recorded in the anonymous Memoirs of Major Robert Stobo, of the Virginia Regiment (London, 1800). In a letter to David Hume, dated 31st August, 1768, Smollett recommends Stobo as "a man whose very extraordinary services and sufferings in America, have merited, and obtained the most ample and honourable testimonials" (Letters, 103), suggesting that Stobo had been more justly treated than Lismahago. Kahrl, 132-143, summarizes Stobo's adventurous history and shows how Smollett altered events and incorporated other material in his synthesis of the fictional character. Martz, 175-180, emphasizes the differences in the personalities of Stobo and Lismahago, suggesting that Smollett created the character of Lismahago to suit his own purposes in the novel without reference to the historical personage. Stobo is also the hero of Sir Gilbert Parker's historical novel, Seats of the Mighty.

⁷Goldberg, Ch. 6.

⁸Humphry Clinker was produced as a serialized radio play by the B.B.C. in the spring of 1967.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Abbreviations

- JEGP: Journal of English and Germanic Philology
- MLN: Modern Language Notes
- PMLA: Publications of the Modern Language Association
- RES: Review of English Studies
- TLS: Times Literary Supplement
- TQ: University of Toronto Quarterly

Primary Sources

- Smollett, Tobias. The Miscellaneous Works of Tobias Smollett. 5 vols. Edinburgh: C. Elliot, 1809.
- . Works of Smollett. With a memoir of his life and writings by Sir Walter Scott. New York: George Routledge, 1821 .
- . The Works of Tobias Smollett. Edited, with introductions, by George Saintsbury. 12 vols. London: The Navarre Society, [1895].
- . The Works of Tobias Smollett. Introduction by G. H. Maynadier. 5 vols. Philadelphia: John D. Morris, 1902.
- . The Works of Tobias Smollett. Introduction by G. H. Maynadier. 12 vols. New York: The Jenson Society, 1907.
- . The Expedition of Humphry Clinker. With a portrait and illustrations by George Cruikshank. London: Hutchinson, 1905.
- . The Expedition of Humphry Clinker. Introduction and notes by L. Rice-Oxley. London: Oxford University Press, 1925.
- . Roderick Random. Introduction by H. W. Hodges. London: Dent, 1927.
- . The Adventures of Roderick Random. London: Oxford University Press, 1930.
- . The Adventures of Peregrine Pickle. Edited, with an introduction, by James L. Clifford. London: Oxford University Press, 1964.
- . The Expedition of Humphry Clinker. Edited, with an introduction, by Lewis Knapp. London: Oxford University Press, 1966.

- . The Letters of Tobias Smollett, M.D. Collected and edited by Edward S. Noyes. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1926.
- . "New Smollett Letters", ed. Henry W. Meikle, TLS (July 24 and 31, 1943), 360, 372.
- . The Poetical Works of Johnson, Parnell, Gray and Smollett. With memoirs, critical dissertations, and explanatory notes by the Rev. George Gilfillan. Edinburgh: James Nichol, 1855.
- . "Another Smollett Letter", ed. Edward S. Noyes, MLN, XLII (1927), 231-235.
- . "More Smollett Letters", ed. Lewis M. Knapp, MLN, XLVIII (1933), 246-249.

Secondary Material

- Allen, Walter. "The Eighteenth Century", in his The English Novel. London: Phoenix House, 1954.
- Baker, Ernest A. The History of the English Novel. 10 vols. London: Witherby, 1924-39.
- Boswell, James. Boswell's Life of Johnson. ed. George Birkbeck Hill. Revised and enlarged by L. F. Powell. 6 vols. London: Oxford University Press, 1934-50.
- Bredvold, Louis I. The Literature of the Restoration and the Eighteenth Century. New York: Collier Books, 1962.
- Bruce, Donald. The Radical Doctor Smollett. London: Gollancz, 1964.
- Buck, Howard S. "A Roderick Random Play -- 1748", MLN, XLIII (1928), 111-112.
- . "Smollett and Akenside", JEGP, XXXI (1932), 10-26.
- Clark, Arthur Melville. "The Art of Satire and the Satiric Spectrum", in his Studies in Literary Modes. Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1946, 31-49.
- Coleridge, Samuel Taylor. Coleridge's Miscellaneous Criticism. Edited by Thomas Middleton Raynor. London: Constable, 1936.
- Cross, Wilbur L. "The Eighteenth-Century Realists", in his The Development of the English Novel. New York: Macmillan, 1899, 31-81.
- Feinberg, Leonard. The Satirist: His Temperament, Motivation and Influence. Ames, Iowa: Iowa State University Press, 1963.

- Foster, J. R. "Peregrine Pickle and the Memoirs of Count Grammont", MLN, LXVI (1951), 469-471.
- "Smollett and the 'Atom'", PMLA, LXVIII (1953), 1032-1046.
- Ford, Boris, ed. From Dryden to Johnson. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1950.
- Gerould, Gordon Hall. The Patterns of English and American Fiction. Boston: Little, Brown, 1942.
- Giddings, Robert. The Tradition of Smollett. London: Methuen, 1967.
- Goldberg, M. A. Smollett and the Scottish School. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1959.
- Green, F. C. "The Unheroic Heroes", in his Minuet, London: Dent, 1935, 334-364.
- Hannay, David. Life of Tobias George Smollett. London: Walter Scott, 1887.
- Heilman, R. B. "Falstaff and Smollett's Micklewhimmen", RES, XXII (1946), 226-8.
- Hight, Gilbert. The Anatomy of Satire. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1962.
- Jackson, Holbrook. Great English Novelists. Philadelphia: Jacobs, 1908.
- Johnson, Samuel. The Works of Samuel Johnson. 9 vols. Oxford: William Pickering, 1825.
- Joliat, Eugène. Smollett Et La France. Paris: Librairie Ancienne Honoré Champion, 1935.
- Jones, Claude E. Smollett Studies. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1942.
- Kahrl, George M. Tobias Smollett; Traveler-Novelist. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1945.
- "The Influence of Shakespeare on Smollett", in Hardin Craig, ed., Essays in Dramatic Literature. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1935.
- Knapp, Lewis M. "Naval Scenes in 'Roderick Random'", PMLA, XLIX (1934), 593-598.
- "A Rare Satire on Smollett", TLS (October 8, 1931), 778.

- , "Roderick Random", TLS, (January 8, 1931), 28.
- , Smollett; Doctor of Men and Manners. New York: Russell and Russell, 1963.
- , "Smollett's Early Years in London", JEGP, XXXI (1932), 220-227.
- , "Smollett's Self-portrait in The Expedition of Humphry Clinker", in Frederick W. Hillis, ed., The Age of Johnson. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1949. 149-158.
- Knox, E. G. V. The Mechanism of Satire. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1951.
- Le Sage, Alain-René. Histoire de Gil Blas de Santillane. 2 vols. Paris: Societé Les Belles Lettres, 1935.
- , The Adventures of Gil Blas of Santillane. trans. T. Smollett, M.D., illus. George Cruikshank. 2 vols. New York: Harper, 1836.
- , Gil Blas. trans. Tobias Smollett. New York: Fawcett, 1962.
- Linsalata, C. R. Smollett's Hoax; Don Quixote in English. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1956.
- Lovett, Robert M. The History of the Novel in England. Cambridge, Mass.: Houghton Mifflin, 1932.
- Lowenthal, Leo. Literature, Popular Culture, and Society. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1961.
- Marshall, Percy. Masters of the English Novel. London: Dennis Dobson, 1962.
- Martz, Louis L. The Later Career of Tobias Smollett. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1942.
- Melville, Lewis. The Life and Letters of Tobias Smollett. London: Faber and Faber, [1926].
- Paulson, Ronald. "Satire in the Early Novels of Smollett", JEGP, LIX (1960), 381-402.
- Plumb, J. H. England in the Eighteenth Century. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1950.
- , Men and Places. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1966.
- Pope, Alexander. The Twickenham Edition of the Poems of Alexander Pope. Edited by John Butt. 6 vols. London: Methuen, 1939.

- Preston, Thomas R. "Smollett and the Benevolent Misanthrope Type", PMLA, LXXIX (1964), 51-57.
- Pritchett, V. S. "The Unhappy Traveller", in his Books in General. London: Chatto and Windus, 1953, 88-93.
- , "The Shocking Surgeon", in his The Living Novel and Later Appreciations. New York: Random House, 1964, 20-26.
- Putney, Rufus. "The Plan of Peregrine Pickle", PMLA, LX (1945), 1051-1065.
- Raleigh, Walter. The English Novel. New York: Scribners, 1911.
- Read, Herbert. "Tobias Smollett", in his Collected Essays in Literary Criticism. London: Faber and Faber, 1938, 234-246.
- Rosenheim, Edward W., Jr. "The Satiric Spectrum", in his Swift and the Satirist's Art. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1962, 1-34.
- Stephen, Leslie. English Literature and Society in the Eighteenth Century. London: Methuen, 1963.
- Stevick, P. "The Augustan Nose", TQ, XXXIV (1965), 110-117.
- Sutherland, James. English Satire. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1962.
- Thackeray, William Makepeace. "The English Humourists of the Eighteenth Century", in his The Complete Works of William Makepeace Thackeray. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, [1904], XXIII.
- Turbeville, A. S. English Men and Manners in the Eighteenth Century. New York: Oxford University Press, 1957.
- Verschoye, Derek, ed. The English Novelists. London: Chatto and Windus, 1936.
- Wagenknecht, Edward. Calvacade of the English Novel. New York: Holt, 1954.
- White, T. H. The Age of Scandal. New York: Putnams, 1950.
- Worcester, David. The Art of Satire. New York: Russell and Russell, 1960.
- Wright, Thomas. Caricature History of the Georges. London: Chatto and Windus, 1904.

B29881